

BOXING

Technical knockout

JAMES "Bonecrusher" Smith, a late substitute for Tony Tubbs, won the World Boxing Association heavyweight title early on Saturday morning with a technical knockout of Tim Witherpoon after two minutes and 12 seconds of the first round at Madison Square Garden, New York. Smith's aggressive start saw Witherpoon, who had been the clear favourite, knocked down three times after a series of hard rights. As New York State allows only three knock-downs, the fight had to be stopped.

Witherpoon seemed neither physically nor mentally prepared for fighting a big, heavy puncher like Smith and his only answer to the first powerful right that staggered him was to try to tie his opponent up inside. But Smith pushed him away and knocked him down.

Witherpoon, spitting out a bloody tooth, got up but never recovered from that first assault. His easy win on points over Smith last year seemed to have made him over-confident and uneasy for a

very different opponent, one in much better physical and mental condition and much more self-assured after a series of wins this year.

Smith will now meet Mike Tyson, the World Boxing Council champion, in Las Vegas on March 7. As both fighters are heavy punchers, it promises to be a battle for survival. But Tyson, who was at the ringside on Saturday, will be an overwhelming favourite because of his unbeaten record and his recent one-sided win over Trevor Berbick in taking the WBC title.

Witherpoon seemed mentally worn out by his pre-fight wrangles with promoter Don King over his purse and the fact that he had not been consulted about the change of opponent after Tubbs dropped out. There were threats of court action before the matter was resolved.

These dramas completely overshadowed another world title bout. Julio Cesar Chavez retained his WBC junior lightweight title with a unanimous 12-round decision over Juan LaPorte.

CRICKET

Openers dominate Test

FOR the third Test in succession a big opening innings dominated the Australia/England match. In the first Test England went on to force Australia to follow-on and eventually won. In this second Australia avoided the follow-on and the match ended in a draw.

At Adelaide the initiative was, for a change, with the Australians after they had hit 614 for five declared after winning the toss. England, without the injured Ian Botham, responded in kind on an excellent batting strip to reach 349 for five on the third day, thus avoiding the follow-on comfortably but placing the odds on another drawn match. This was strengthened when England went on to reach 456 on the fourth day, then had Australia at 82 for three, 0 lead of 141.

The fifth day petered out into the expected draw with Australia declaring their second innings at 201-3 at tea, with Border batting impeccably to record his seventh Test century against England. This left England with 261 to get in only two hours. There were

minor flutters when Athey was out and then Gattling was bowled first ball, but Broad and Lamb played out the remaining overs comfortably enough; England finishing at 39 for two.

There were plenty of critics of the Australian tactics after the second day, many of them home-grown. On such a comparatively tame pitch, it was said, they should have scored quicker and declared sooner to put the maximum pressure on the English. As it was they made only 207 for two on the opening day, led by a century from Boon, who thus ended a bleak spell. They should have taken more advantage of some loose bowling from the England pacemen. Drizzle cut the day slightly, but the Australian batting pace was not exactly compelling. At other times, Marek taking three hours and a quarter over his painstaking 43. This brought to 27 hours and 45 minutes the time he has occupied the crease against England so far in the series, during which he has scored at the rate of 16 and one half runs per

hour. Boon was content, however, and Australia no doubt felt that the pace could be stepped up on the second day.

Boon had taken five hours over his 103 and Jones took almost as long over his 93, most of it scored on the second day. Border, the captain, raised the pace slightly in his 70, but the fastest men was Waugh, who hit a masterly 79 at faster than average. That, however, only raised the rate to about three an over by the time Border declared at 514 for five. Border had in the previous Test criticised the English for caution in not declaring their second innings earlier, but this time he, too, was overcome by caution, leaving only 40 minutes of the second day to try to wrinkle out some English wickets. They failed. Broad and Athey comfortably seeing out the day at 29 without loss.

England's initial target on the third day was to avoid the follow-on, at 315, then build patiently for the draw, leaving them still one up in the series. This they did at a fractionally faster rate than the Australians to be 349 for five at the close. Athey was the first out at 65, having shared a century opening stand with Broad. Gattling, the captain, and Broad then went on to individual centuries.

Earlier in the week Gattling had been severely reprimanded by the English management for failing to turn up in time for the opening of their game against Victoria. Gattling had overslept, much to his personal embarrassment. Gattling effectively had the last word by leading his men to victory in Victoria for the first time in 24 years, by five wickets with 17 balls left.

At one stage England had looked capable of winning in a day and a half. After dismissing Victoria for 101 in their first innings, England responded with 263. But Victoria were more stubborn in their second innings, hitting 345, of which Hibbert had 91 in six hours. England made halting progress, but they eventually reached 184 for five at a run a minute. More important, in the context of the third Test, Whitaker made up for his first innings duck by hitting 48, the leading England score and won selection in place of the injured Botham for the Test.

Alan Dunn's DIARY

at present with 24 three-day games. There will also be an end to the quarter final stage of the knockout Benson and Hedges Trophy, in which the Combined Universities side will be chosen from all British universities, not just Oxford and Cambridge.

Meanwhile, Geoff Boycott, the former Yorkshire and England opening batsman, has confirmed his retirement from first-class cricket. He had been offered a two-year contract by Derbyshire, but there was objection to his playing for another county while still on the committee at his native Yorkshire.

Downhill racer

WORLD skiing lost one of its personalities for the rest of the season last week almost before the racing has begun. Bill Johnson, the American Olympic downhill champion, was taken home after shattering his left knee and breaking his right shoulder in a fall while practising for the weekend's racing at Val Gardena, Italy.

Last season another American, Craig Soubrier, broke his neck in training on the same section of the classic course, the notorious Camel Pass bumps. In the racing Canadians won both the men's and women's events. Rob Boyd won at Val Gardena, while Laura Graham secured a run of four successive World Cup victories for the Swiss by taking the Val d'Isère event.

Record dog

GREYHOUND racing had an extra special week when Ballyreign Bob set a world record of 32 consecutive wins. He did it before the world's television cameras at Hove, winning by nine and a quarter lengths from five other top-class greyhounds at odds of 5-1 on. He overtook the record held by an American greyhound, Joe Dump, set in 1975-76. Ballyreign's owner, Cliff Kevren, who bought him a pup for £1,500, says that the dog will now go to stud.

Lendl's Mastery

IVAN LENDL made sure of being confirmed as the lawn tennis world champion for the second time last week by winning the Masters in New York for the fourth time. In the final he beat Boris Becker in three sets, all 6-4. It was the start of a bad week for Becker, for he was later beaten 2-6, 6-4, 6-7 by

the Russian, Andrei Cheenokov, in one of the round robin matches of the Young Masters tournament in Stuttgart. But Becker went on to win the tournament, beating Sweden's Jonas Svensson 7-6, 7-6, 6-3 in the final. Two of Svensson's compatriots, Stefan Edberg and Anders Jarryd, successfully defended their Masters doubles title in London at the weekend. In the final they beat Guy Forget and Yannick Noah, of France, 6-3, 7-6, 6-3.

EEC Games

A NEW concept for a multi-sport games, designed to avoid the massive costs of putting everything into one city, was launched in London last week. The European Economic Community Games, embracing 24 sports in a dozen cities across the Community, are planned for 1989. The unifying feature will be television, with the anticipated cost of 26 million being met by a dozen sponsors. Each of the 12 games centres will stage two sports. Nine sponsors have already signalled interest.

YACHTING

NY boat eliminated

YACHTING history was made on Gage Roads on Sunday when New Zealand crossed the finishing line in her race 15 seconds ahead of the New York Yacht Club's America II. That defeat eliminated America II from the Challenger semi-finals and leaving the NYCC out of the America's Cup for the first time in the competition's 135-year history.

Britain's hopes of making the semi-finals subsided two days earlier when White Crusader lost to New Zealand and the fourth place in the semi-finals was left to be fought out between John Kollus in America II and Tom Blackaller in the St Francis Yacht Club's USA. The crunch matches came on Sunday when Blackaller, faced Marc Pajot in French Kiss, and Kollus took on the Kiwis.

The wind was light and shifty, and promised unpredictability. America II led at the first mark by the simple expedient of going way out on the right wing and picking up the seabeat first. The easterly on which the course had been set was to give way to a 'Sou/Sou' westerly and it was on this that Kollus came romping into the first mark, with sheets cracked, to lead by 21 seconds.

Kollus was not finished yet. He made Chris Dickson and his crew fight all the way. But a New Zealand victory was assured as Dickson concentrated on covering his opponent all the way to the line.

French Kiss led USA up the first leg, but Blackaller took his radically-designed boat to the front on the run. He gained on each leg thereafter. The four yachts going into the Challenger semi-finals starting on December 28 are: New Zealand (Chris Dickson) representing the Royal New Zealand Yacht Squadron, Stars and Stripes (Dennis Conner) representing the San Diego Yacht Club, USA (Tom Blackaller) representing the St Francis Yacht Club, and French Kiss (Marc Pajot) representing the Societe des Regates Rochelaises.



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Freed Sakharov hopes to resume work in Moscow

By Martin Walker in Moscow



Dr Andrei Sakharov.

DR ANDREI SAKHAROV, the best-known dissident still remaining in the Soviet Union, was freed from his seven years of internal exile this week, while Pravda published a blistering personal attack on the man who put him there, the former Soviet leader, Leonid Brezhnev. Dr Sakharov was given the news in a telephone call from the Russian leader, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev.

The announcement seemed to have been timed to distract world attention from the anti-Russian riots in the traditionally Muslim republic of Kazakhstan. Dr Sakharov's freedom to return to his home in Moscow, with his wife, Yelena Bonner, is also an attempt to resolve the last of the notorious human rights abuses still capable of provoking public outrage in the West.

When I asked him in a telephone interview whether there would be any restriction on his activities in Moscow he said: "When we come we shall see. We shall have to find out when we arrive how things will be."

Asked whether he would be able to see Western correspondents once in Moscow, Dr Sakharov replied: "Again, we shall have to see. We have got out of the habit of seeing people. Literally, we have not seen anyone except for the poetman or people in the shops, and we have talked to no one."

His first call in Moscow would be on the Academy of Sciences, to discuss arrangements for him to resume his scientific work, he said. He plans to return to his post at the Lebedev Physics Institute.

"I intend to continue working at the institute to study and do research and perhaps to teach. While in Gorky, I had been doing some research, or rather I tried to do something. This is very important for me."

"My own health is reasonable, more or less, considering my age and recent experiences," he said. "But my wife is feeling much worse than I do. Since the beginning of December, she has pains in her legs and some heart pain."

He confirmed that he had "a long and very interesting conversation" with the Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev on the day after a telephone was installed in the small flat in the closed city of Gorky where he had been exiled since 1980, after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

KGB officials arrived last week to install a telephone. It was the first time he had been allowed a private line since his arrival in Gorky.

When Mr Gorbachev rang, they discussed human rights, said Dr Sakharov, adding that he said to the Soviet leader: "I beg you to consider once again the release of

my list," Dr Sakharov told Mr Gorbachev.

Dr Sakharov then said that in his view, all those convicted under these laws which forbid "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation" had been convicted and imprisoned unjustly. "I cannot agree with you," Mr Gorbachev replied.

Dr Sakharov's freedom from exile follows the permission for the dissident poet, Irini Ratushinskaya, to fly to Britain last week after four years in prison. Earlier this year, the leading Jewish human rights campaigner, Anatoly Shebaransky, and Yuri Orlov, founder of the Helsinki monitoring group, were freed from prison and allowed to go to the West.

Last month the veteran Soviet dissident, Anatoly Marchenko, died in prison, where he had spent more than 20 of his 48 years. The household names of the human rights movement are now dead, in exile in the West, or free to live and work in the Soviet Union. It remains to be seen whether the West's human rights campaigners can mobilise the same outrage for the lesser known figures who remain incarcerated, or waiting endlessly for their exit visas.

It may be significant that Dr Sakharov's freedom was announced while the Politburo's most prominent hardliner, Yegor Ligachev, was still out of the

country as guest of honour at the Vientiane Communist Party congress in Hanoi.

Of perhaps equal significance was the appalled reaction in the West to the Soviet Union's celebration of UN Human Rights Day with a public warning that Dr Sakharov had got off lightly, and could have faced much more severe criminal charges. That statement by the veteran deputy chief of the supreme court, Viktor Gusev, provoked the most anti-Soviet headlines that Mr Gorbachev had seen since he took office. He is said to have been appalled at the public relations disaster it produced.

Soviet officials speaking privately claimed that Mr Gorbachev believed he was still carrying the can for decisions taken by his predecessors. They pointed to the critical article on Mr Brezhnev in Pravda as a sign of his anger.

The article, to commemorate Mr Brezhnev's 80th birthday would normally have praised his achievements. Instead it condemned Brezhnev's lack of consistent democracy, his failure to encourage public criticism or to accept self-criticism.

It was by no means an apology to those like Dr Sakharov who suffered for their criticism of the Soviet Union under Mr Brezhnev. But it was a significant statement of regret, to mark the day of Dr Sakharov's release from exile.

Gorbachev's new broom keeps on sweeping

THE release of Dr Andrei Sakharov, the most famous Soviet dissident, and his equally long-suffering wife, Yelena Bonner, is a dazzling climax to a momentous week in Soviet affairs. Seen alongside the bitter denunciation of Leonid Brezhnev in Pravda, the riots in Kazakhstan and the threat to resume nuclear tests, the return of the Sakharovs to Moscow is powerful evidence of Mr Gorbachev's determination to transform the Soviet Union. When he came to power there was doubt of his determination and his ability to achieve real reform. He is now embroiled in a struggle of enormous complexity on two fronts, a fact which attests to the magnitude of his self-imposed task as well as to his energy and confidence.

The Washington Post

ANDREI SAKHAROV and his wife, Yelena Bonner, have become symbols of individual resistance to Soviet repression, and their return from internal exile to Moscow is cause for rejoicing. Dr Sakharov was never accused of, let alone tried for, any crime. His wife was set up for exercising rights guaranteed by Soviet law. They were treated in what was, even by Soviet standards, a dirty way: to convince outsiders that they were doing all right, for instance, the government invaded their communications and Dr Sakharov's medical sessions. But they were not doing all right: at the best of times, they were undergoing terrible harassment and privation. Yet they were never broken. They maintained their dignity and also an extraordinary relationship with each other.

It was this relationship and a characteristic lack of political imagination that led Leonid Brezhnev to exile the Sakharovs — to get

What is not yet clear is whether he is going to get away with it.

On the external front, he showed at Reykjavik how far he is prepared to go towards arms limitation — given American flexibility on Star Wars. His earlier, unilateral moratorium on tests gave Moscow a rare propaganda advantage in this "peace offensive". Even the threat to resume them remains contingent on a US decision to continue with theirs. At the same time such a threat may be seen as a signal, or possibly a surrender, to the military: Mr Gorbachev is not going to risk Soviet security if the Americans make no concession in response to his own. This still leaves Washington to do the explaining if Soviet tests resume.

Straddling the external and internal fronts is the question of human rights. The release of dissidents shows Mr Gorbachev shedding a burden he would prefer not to have to carry into every conference chamber. It is an easier one to dump than Afghanistan, where the military again have

Despite the static on the East-West line since Reykjavik, to say nothing of Washington's self-absorbed descent into scandal, there are hints from US sources that the way to a major arms deal is far from closed and that pleasant surprises should not be ruled out. Perhaps Mr Reagan now needs a spectacular success in this area just as much as Mr Gorbachev — in each case to divert attention from domestic issues.

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From Gorky to Moscow

the "problem" of this renowned physicist thrown out of the Academy of Sciences. Scientists may be no braver than others, but the best of them recognize they have some leverage in dealing with the state on the West. Foreign trade and espionage after the Kremlin certain alternatives to relying on Soviet scientists. But Mr Gorbachev seeks to get as much as possible out of active talent, and this cannot be done by treating accomplished people like criminals.

The Sakharovs have suffered but also benefited from their celebrity. The lives of many other courageous Soviets play out beyond the light and roach of Western concern. It is well to recall that the Soviet eyesome lose none of its capacity for arbitrariness for the occasional well-publicized grant of relief.

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Dissident poet freed, page 10

TODAY LEAGUE: First Division: Aston Villa 3, Manchester United 3; Luton 1, Everton 0; Manchester City 3, West Ham 1; Newcastle 3, Nottingham Forest 2; Norwich 1, Arsenal 1; QPR 0, Charlton 0; Tottenham 2, Watford 1; Wimbledon 3, Sheffield Wednesday 0. Postponed: Southampton v. Coventry. Played Sunday: Luton v. City 2, Oxford Utd 0; Liverpool 3, Chelsea 0. Leading positions: 1. Arsenal (18, pts38); 2. Nottingham (18, pts35); 3. Liverpool (18, pts34). Second Division: Crystal Palace 6, Hull 1; Gillingham 1, Stoke 1; Leeds 3, Brighton 1; Millwall 4, Huddersfield 0; Plymouth 1, Derby 1; Reading 1, Ipswich 4; Shrewsbury 1, Portsmouth 0; Shrewsbury 1, Birmingham 0. Postponed: Blackburn v. Dundee. Played Friday: Bradford 1, West Bromwich 3. Leading positions: 1. Oldham Athletic (18, pts37); 2. Portsmouth (18, pts36); 3. Plymouth (18, pts34). Third Division: Blackpool 1, Bury 1; Bolton 3, Gillingham 0; Grimsby 3, Carlisle 0; Fulham 1, Mansfield 1; Middlesbrough 1, Doncaster 0; Notts County 5, York 1; Rotherham 4, Bournemouth 2; Watford 4, Gillingham 2; Wigan 1, Barnsley 1. Played Sunday: Bolton v. Rovers 2, Newport 2; Swindon 1, Bristol City 2; Port Vale 2, Chester 1. Leading positions: 1. Middlesbrough (18, pts36); 2. Gillingham (18, pts37); 3. Notts County (18, pts34). Fourth Division: Cardiff 2, Aldershot 0; Colchester 1, Preston 2; Crewe 1, Torquay 0; Exeter 1, Truro 0; Hartlepool 0, Weymouth 1; Haverhill 2, Cambridge Utd 3; Lincoln 4, Swindon 0; Northampton 2, Weymouth 3; Orient 2, Burnley 0; Peterborough 3, Halesowen 0; Rochdale 1, Scunthorpe 1; Southend 0, Stockport 0. Leading positions: 1. Northampton (18, pts40); 2. Swindon (18, pts35); 3. Exeter (18, pts34). SCOTTISH FA CUP — First Round: Forth Macdonalds 0, Berwick 0. Second Round: Forth Macdonalds 0, Berwick 0. FINE FATE SCOTTISH LEAGUE — Premier Division: Aberdeen 1, Hibernian 0; Clydebank 1, Dundee Utd 2; Dundee 6, St Mirren 5; Hearts 7, Hamilton 1; Celtic 1, Rangers 4; Falkirk 0. Leading positions: 1. Celtic (18, pts38); 2. Dundee Utd (18, pts34); 3. Hearts (18, pts33). First Division: Dundee 1, Dundee Utd 1; Dundee 1, Dundee Utd 1; Dundee 1, Dundee Utd 1. Second Division: Forth Macdonalds 0, Berwick 0; Forth Macdonalds 0, Berwick 0; Forth Macdonalds 0, Berwick 0. Third Division: Forth Macdonalds 0, Berwick 0; Forth Macdonalds 0, Berwick 0; Forth Macdonalds 0, Berwick 0. Fourth Division: Forth Macdonalds 0, Berwick 0; Forth Macdonalds 0, Berwick 0; Forth Macdonalds 0, Berwick 0.

Reaganism's strange logic . . .

If current reports of the growing scandal in Washington are correct, the logic of the calculation that underlies the fiasco is inescapable: in the minds of North, Poindexter and the other culprits, three or four living American ex-hostages are worth thousands of dead Iraqis plus thousands of dead Nicaraguans.

What kind of barter is this that exchanges the lives of a handful of Americans for weapons of death that will surely be used to destroy tens of thousands of non-Americans? If these bizarre, macabre deals were inspired by a "humane impulse" then God save humanity.

What is most astonishing is that, amid all the glamour and recrimination, Reagan, Buchanan and friends continue to believe that they are themselves misunderstood arbiters of peace and freedom to the non-American world, as is evident when they extol the virtues of Colonel North as a new "American hero".

Such arrogance underpins the American black-and-white view of the world, a world that to them exists for American use, in which the Pacific is "America's Pond", Latin America is the "strategic underbelly" of the States, and Central America is their "backyard". It is this set of values that makes the United States now so unpredictable and incomprehensible.

The sooner Reagan, his baloney and his cronies bite the dust in true cowboy-fashion, the sooner this collective national concert will be deflated down toward a more realistic scale of values. No amount of scandal will turn America into a benign force on the planet; let us hope, however, that

"Inarguable" will lead a lessening of the macabre flexing of America's military-industrial muscles, which might make that crazy country a fraction less malignant, even if only for 5 or 10 years, until the next Nixon or Reagan gets to rule the American Empire. The only consolation is that the next set of lunatics will be bound, after some time, to fall foul, as they step even beyond their own warped mentality — we will then be treated to another spectacle on the scale of this current, amazing imbroglio.

M. Poldane,
Bondi,
Sydney.

Alex Brummer overstepped the bounds of his generally admirable circumsppection (Dec. 7) by trying to equate Reagan's Iranian imbroglio with past presidential trauma, as all arising out of an abiding American belief in something called "democracy". Are we to distribute selling sophisticated weapons to a fanatical end warring theocracy, and financing a war against a tiny country whose government has a claim to popular support equal to or greater than most of those aided by US foreign policy, all of which was carried out beyond the gaze of the elected representatives of the American people themselves, simply to an over-eager attempt to achieve "moral goals", guided by "the love of democracy"?

We've got to separate the simple-minded pronouncements of grandpa Reagan and his pichmen from the perverse worldview which motivates their actions. Their manichean vision of "democracy" vs "communism" does not flow

from any genuine desire to extend liberty to every corner of the globe, but is rather a cynical justification for protecting what they take to be American interests by backing repression (China, South Africa) and subverting popular reform (Nicaragua).

It's those interests that lead the Norths and Poindexters and Regans to consciously undermine the foundations of the "City on a Hill".

Michael Solot,
Dept. of Geography,
Univ. of Wisconsin.

Bar 500

In your report (Dec. 21) of the death of Anatoly Marchenko in the USSR, Martin Walker states that Marchenko was one of the last well-known inmates of the Soviet prison camp system.

Amnesty International has detailed case histories of more than 600 prisoners of conscience in the USSR, seven of whom are imprisoned in Chistopol. Anatoly Marchenko is the second political dissident to die in that camp in the past three months, and many of the prisoners known to us are suffering from serious illness. Irina Retushinskaya, the poetess released the day before the Reykjavik summit, was completely unknown outside human rights circles 18 months ago. The challenge facing us is to ensure that all prisoners of conscience receive publicity, and accelerate the pressure for their release.

Janet Johnston,
Amnesty International,
London EC1.

Don't let Reykjavik initiative slip by

The US's European allies are uncomfortable that Reagan and Gorbachev nearly agreed, at Reykjavik, to remove all intermediate-range nuclear missiles from Europe. The Europeans are mistaken — they should be glad to see them go, as a first step in removing all nuclear weapons from Europe. It will be a scheme if this initiative gets lost in the furor about Iran.

The missiles are seen as a way of linking the US to the defence of Europe. As Russia's ability to attack the US grew in the 1970's, European leaders feared that the

US would not respond to a Soviet invasion of Europe with its US-based nuclear arms, out of concern for its own population.

The installation in Europe of US Parshing and Cruise missiles, which Europe requested, assuaged European fears. It would be difficult to avoid using these weapons if Europe were attacked; and their range is such that they would fall directly on Russia. So Russia could hardly fail to respond, attacking the US directly.

There was also an element of wishful thinking. The Europeans found the thought of nuclear war

involving Europe, Russia, and the US so unthinkable that they wrongly concluded that this made it unlikely. They want to make it plain that nuclear weapons will be used early, and that the war will involve both Russia and the US, thus linking our fate to theirs and keeping war as unthinkable as possible.

There are seemingly respectable arguments for this posture. The Europeans do not want the US to contemplate a limited nuclear war in Europe. Also, they argue, nuclear weapons will be used sooner or later during any European war, and will involve both the US and Russia. Thus it ought to be clear that they will be used early, and widely, removing any lingering doubts a potential aggressor might have. If the world cannot be made safe for conventional war, it is better if we do not pretend that it can be.

This view is mistaken, since the presence of nuclear weapons is itself conducive to conflict. The weapons are so destructive that there is a big advantage to using them promptly. Thus, in any crisis, there will have to be a delegation of authority to field commanders, and the weapons will quickly pass out of civilian control. A minor incident, a sort of a shoving match between Russian and Allied forces, could thus ignite a conflagration.

Richard Lynn,
Millwood, NY.

Teetering on the Sellafield brink

Once again the Nuclear Installations Inspectorate has let British Nuclear Fuels off the hook (Guardian Weekly, Dec. 21).

In 1981 it investigated the way the Windscale/Sellafield plant was run, its report was scathing about management and safety procedures. In 1983 it was the same story, and now we hear it once again. This time, however, the inspectorate has at least begun to talk of closure, even if it is only temporary.

However, what the inspectorate should have demanded is that the Sellafield reprocessing plant be shut permanently. Greenpeace has insisted on this not merely as a response to sloppy management practice or an appalling safety record, but because there is no need for reprocessing to take place. Last year Greenpeace through its consultants, Large and Associates, submitted evidence to the Commons select committee on the environment, when it was considering the problems of nuclear waste. This showed that there was no need to reprocess spent fuel and that it could be dry-stored instead.

Lord Marshall, chairman of the Central Electricity Generating Board, said on television at the time of the committee's report that he would prove us wrong. We are still waiting, as is this select committee.

Nor have we heard from the CEGB about our challenge that it substantiate the assertion that our four-year nuclear close-down programme is impracticable.

This, of course, leaves the question of why BNF continues to see its future in reprocessing. The answer is, the money received from West Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Holland, Sweden, Spain and Japan, all of whom are delighted to send their spent fuel to our country for reprocessing.

Ask BNF how much low-level, intermediate, or high-level waste it has returned to these countries, and the answer will be none. It has either been dumped in the sea, buried at Drigg, or is stored awaiting further treatment and this answer to the problems of disposal.

Public opposition to this situation is growing; sooner or later the Government will have to realise that the British people are more concerned about their environment than about scrabbling for every yen.

George Pritchard,
Graspease,
London N1.

Ankara's backward glance

Turkey is now to be President of the Council of Europe and can be seen holding elections of various kinds; reports of that country have therefore sometimes given the impression that conditions have "normalised" there: an impression that is partly true. Nevertheless, it is still easy for people to be goaded on charges that would be inconceivable in most democratic countries.

Hall Berkley is a Turkish historian doing a doctorate at Birmingham University, who is active in Ankara in trying to set up a Socialist Party. For doing nothing more than participate in a public meeting to this end, he, with others, has been arrested and will be tried under Turkey's catch-all

Article 142, which regards such activities as tantamount to stirring insurrection.

We have come to know Hall very well as a fellow historian and friend. He is not only of considerable standing intellectually, but a very generous-minded individual whom any institution such as ours should be glad to receive as a member. Why should a country that proclaims its profound commitment to the democratic process feel the need to give the impression to the world that it is still a repressive semi-military regime.

Chris Wickham,
Rodney Hilton,
Department of Medieval History,
University of Birmingham.

How the PM seems to be talking herself out of a job

I am sure I'm not alone in finding Mrs Thatcher's use of the adjective "party-political" as a term of gentle or not so gentle abuse surprising. She is, after all, a party politician.

The burden of her message in her ITN interview with Pater Sissons (Dec. 9) was that matters like defence and law and order were in some way deeper than party politics and more important than them. This is indeed strange, because politics and, since the early 18th century, party politics has been the major method by which policy has been arrived at in our democracy.

It is true that there is almost total consensus that we should be defended and that there should be law and order, but this does not for a minute mean that there is consensus about how these things can be achieved. Conflicts about the means by which social goals

can be actualised can only be resolved politically, and therefore those matters cannot be above, beyond, or deeper than party politics.

It is interesting that the French word *politique* means policy, thus perhaps preventing a distinction without a difference.

What is the Prime Minister talking about? Does she intend, rather than pricing herself out of a job, to talk herself out of one?

Ian Griffiths,
Killarney Road,
London SW18.

Mrs Thatcher's declared faith in the integrity of President Reagan is hardly surprising in view of her record of faith in the integrity of her own appointees before and after they have proved completely unworthy of it.

Eric A. Rosa,
London W5.

Number of jobless declining

CHRISTMAS brought with it the cheering prospect that unemployment may, at long last, be declining. The dole queue has now shortened for four consecutive months — the first time this has happened since Mrs Thatcher took office in 1979 — which encouraged Whitehall to claim that the trend was now "firmly downwards".

The number out of work in November fell by 29,387 to a total of 3.2 million. Even after allowing for seasonal factors, it now looks as if the total really has declined by about 77,000 since the middle of the year. One reason is that the growth in the labour force is slowing down. Another is that special employment measures, which do not necessarily result in real, permanent jobs, are also taking more people out of the dole queue.

Even if the trend at the moment is downward, there is no guarantee that it will continue that way. Redundancies in manufacturing industry continue with depressing regularity — British Telecom alone is planning to shed 24,000 jobs over the next four years — and more will inevitably be lost as a result of the Government's decision to buy the American Awaacs airborne early warning system in preference to the home-grown Nimrod.

This decision ran into furious objections which were not confined to the parliamentary Opposition, but Ministers contrived to avoid a Commons debate on the subject by delaying the announcement until the House was about to adjourn for the Christmas recess.

By opting for the attractive Boeing offer — to spend £130 in Britain for every £100 it earns from the sale of Awaacs — the Government may, however, actually be contravening its own rules. Boeing has confirmed that, under the US Export Administration Act, any contracts placed in Britain would be under control of the US Department of Commerce. But the Attorney-General, Sir Michael Havers, ruled three years ago that this piece of American legislation is an infringement of British sovereignty and that British firms should not accept contracts governed by it.

The pre-Christmas warning by the Bank of England about the dangers inherent in the growth of easy personal credit was echoed by the Paris-based Organisation for Economic Cooperation and

Development (OECD), which said that Britain's money supply was expanding far too rapidly and that spending overruns now posed "major problems" for the next budget. The organisation predicted that the budget would offer little scope for the kind of tax cuts Mrs Thatcher has been promising since 1979 and which are widely expected in this next, pre-election budget.

The Treasury can, of course, still pull in money from the sale of state assets such as British Airways and the nation's water undertakings. It will not, however, earn anything from the sale of Rolls-Royce, which is to be put up for sale in the spring. On the contrary, it — or rather, the taxpayers — will be writing off more than £600 million.

The flotation of the company is expected to bring in between £500 million and £750 million. Before it

can be floated, however, the Government will plough money into the company by replacing its existing bank debts of £273 million with an equal amount in new shares. This is in addition to losses of £372 million written off a year ago. This will leave ministers open to accusations of selling the world's best-known engineering company for nothing. A consolation, if such it be, is that foreign investors will not be allowed to own more than 15 per cent of it.

The Home Secretary, Mr Douglas Hurd, took an unprecedented step when he allowed a convicted murderer who is serving two life sentences to be released into police custody for a day to search on a bleak, windswept Pennine moorland for the possible graves of two young people who disappeared more than 20 years ago.

The release was that of Myra Hindley who, in 1965, was convicted with her lover, Ian Brady, of the horrific murders of three young people, two of whom were found buried on Saddleworth Moor, in Greater Manchester. Two other youngsters were missing at the same time and the police have decided, for some inexplicable reason, to start searching for their burial places on the moor.

Hindley's costly visit to the scene of her crimes, involving a helicopter flight, the blocking of

roads and a massive armed security cordon, provoked considerable controversy. What, it was asked, could be gained by this search? Could Hindley and Brady, already jointly serving five life sentences from which they will never be released, possibly be put on trial again after such a lapse of time?

The deputy chief constable of Greater Manchester, Mr John Stalker, was not even aware that Hindley was to be brought to help in the search because his chief, Mr James Arderton, had not told him. He had, it seemed, been frozen out by his boss ever since he returned to work three months after being suspended on flimsy charges which were proved to be without foundation.

His suspension was viewed with great suspicion because he was, at the same time, taken off an inquiry into allegations that the police in Northern Ireland were operating a "shoot-to-kill" policy against republican terrorists in the troubled province. His findings, had they ever been completed, would have recommended the prosecution of a number of senior Northern Ireland officers.

After 30 distinguished years of police service, Mr Stalker decided last week to quit. He gave, as his reason, the intolerable pressures brought on himself and his family as a result of his suspension. Privately, he had lost faith in a service which brought spurious charges against him, slung him when they failed to stick, and left him with the bills for more than £20,000 spent on his needless defence.

The vulnerability of the Dublin Prime Minister, Dr Garret FitzGerald, and the tenuous nature of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, were demonstrated when the Irish Parliament passed, by only one vote, a Bill allowing suspected terrorists to be extradited for trial in the North.

A greater readiness by both sides to extradite terrorist suspects was an integral part of the Anglo-Irish pact and Dr FitzGerald was determined to honour this undertaking. But Ireland has been traditionally uneasy about placing its prisoners before the British courts and the Dail managed to amend the new extradition law in such a way that it will not take effect for years — by which time, it was evidently hoped, either Dublin, or Westminster, or even both, might have new governments.

Second, allegations of insider trading by civil servants were triggered by what happened only a week earlier, at a time when the purge (and the publicity) against irregularities was at its height. One of the main reasons for the speedy use of the DTT's increased powers (including the ability to force suspects to speak out under pain of contempt of court) was to generate the regulators' own Big Bang — a blunt warning to the City that the party was now over and that recalcitrants would be pursued ruthlessly. But — this message did not have the desired effect on some of the DTT's own monitors let alone the City traders, then the depth of the problem to be solved can be only guessed at.

There is another reason why the Government is acting so speedily. It is to head off demands for a statutory body like the Securities and Exchange Commission in the US to replace the present system based on voluntary self-regulation with a statutory reminder that the existence of a statutory body is, of itself, no guarantee against rotten apples within. If the DTT could harbour them, as could a British SEC. But the present proliferation of ad hoc investigations will have an uphill task to prove itself against the counter attractions of an SEC body with accumulated expertise and wide ranging powers to follow up leads. However, the debate about the relative merits of a statutory versus voluntary regulation is a long-term one. The Government's main aim is damage limitation in the run up to a general election when scandal in the City could cost valuable votes.

MI5 book trial ends in welter of accusations

By Richard Norton-Taylor in Sydney

THE MI5 secrets trial in Australia ended last Friday, but Mr Justice Powell is not expected to give his judgment on whether Mr Pater Wright can publish his memoirs until the middle of February.

It has become increasingly clear that Whitehall is concerned about the exposure of two particularly damaging episodes: the alleged plot by 30 MI5 officers to destabilise the 1974/5 Wilson government, and the investigations of Soviet penetration at the top of the security service.

The evidence, the judge said on Friday, showed that Sir Robert would not stoop to lie when a half-truth would do. He suggested that the Cabinet Secretary had used what he called the old soldier's camouflage trick of giving a misleading impression and intending to do so.

Mr Justice Powell told the court in his final intervention: "My real complaint is that enough issues were thrown up well in advance to indicate to the authorities in Britain there would be a lot of questions to be answered." These answers, if they were going to be satisfactory, needed to be given by "someone in authority".

The impression he got from first reading Sir Robert's affidavits had totally changed his of result of later evidence, he said. "He is on official, not a technician able to give hard, detailed, compelling evidence. That's my objection to Sir Robert."

The judge intervened after Mr Theo Simos QC, for the Government — who throughout the trial had adopted a low key approach — had delivered a brief but savage attack on Mr Malcolm Turnbull, the lawyer acting for Mr Pater Wright, the former MI5 officer

whose memoirs the Government is trying to suppress.

Mr Turnbull's criticism of Sir Robert and Sir Michael Havers, the Attorney-General, said Mr Simos were "extravagant, melodramatic, and outrageous. They were baseless, unjustified, and should be rejected out of hand," he said.

Mr Turnbull, earlier this week accused Sir Michael and the Government in general of having used Sir Robert as a "fall guy" to "lie and dissemble" to the court.

Grants cut

By Nicholas de Jongh

ARTS Council subsidies to the Royal Shakespeare Company and the National Theatre have been frozen at existing cash levels for the first time. Next year, the RSC will get £5,107,000 and the NT £81,400 — the same as in 1984. The new cash allocations announced last week, in effect, amount to a cut of about 6.5 per cent in real terms. The South Bank Board which funds concert halls by the Thames will suffer the same standstill treatment in 1987.

The Arts Council decision, taken on the advice of its drama panel, will plunge the RSC, which has an accumulated £800,000 deficit after a poor year at the box office, into immediate difficulty. Its new chief executive, Mr Terry Hands, described the allocation as "a curiously aggressive action. I do not understand it," he said.

His first reaction was that the company would have to cut one of its main productions at the Barbican Theatre next year and one at the Pit. It would also have to try to reduce the size of the company.

OBITUARIES Sir Harry Platt

SIR HARRY PLATT, one of the founding fathers of modern orthopaedic surgery, has died at his home in Manchester at the age of 100. He devoted his life to the cure and treatment of fractures and bone disabilities which he had suffered himself as a child.

He was inspired to study medicine by the surgeon Sir Robert Jones, who straightened his knees. Sir Harry founded Britain's first separate fracture clinic in Ancients in Manchester in 1914, and headed Manchester University's orthopaedics department when it was set up in 1932.

Under his leadership both clinic

and department were unrivalled in Britain and he became the country's first professor of orthopaedic surgery when a chair was created for him at Manchester in 1939. He was president of the Royal College of Surgeons from 1954 to 1957 and played a major part in the organisation of the National Health Service.

His own disability, which gave him a pronounced limp, prevented Sir Harry from taking much exercise, to which he attributed his long life. An accomplished musician and composer, he came from a long-established Lancashire textile family.

Bill Simpson — Dr Finlay

BILL SIMPSON, the Scottish actor who for 12 years played Dr Finlay in Dr Finlay's Casebook on BBC radio and television, has died, aged 54.

Dr Finlay followed. It was to keep him busy on BBC TV for nine years — and on BBC Radio for another three.

Mr Simpson toured frequently, including two years in Educating Rita playing the ageing lecturer who in the film was played by

Michael Caine. He was in pantomime during most Christmas seasons.

Mr Simpson had a home in Spain and went there to rest after he became seriously ill. He was there when he was again taken ill.

Mr Simpson was twice married. Both marriages ended in divorce. He had two children by his second marriage to the actress Tracy Reed, step-daughter of the film director Sir Carol Reed.

David Penhaligon, MP

THE Liberal MP for Truro, Cornwall, Mr David Penhaligon, was killed on Monday, when a van skidded on black ice and crashed into his Rover car on a steep hill near his constituency.

Police said that conditions at the scene were so bad that officers could not stand up.

The out-of-control van went on to hit a bus and then burst into flames.

The 42-year-old MP was the Liberal treasury spokesman, an one of his party's best known and best-liked members.

A former president of the party, he sported a broad Cornish accent and was one of three politicians who stood in to host the BBC Radio 2 Jimmy Young programme when JY was on holiday last month. His majority at the last election was 10,480.

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Buttering up the roaches

A Wood (Letters, Dec. 7) proposes a buttered jer as solution to the cockroach problem. My own ship, serving in the Mediterranean, was thickly infested. Unable to stay long enough in port for de-lousing, we introduced North African spiders on board. These

speedily ate all the cockroaches but multiplied fast. After two weeks the spiders put the ship out of action by wabbling down the guns. At my suggestion champagne were flown in. These effectively ate the spiders, allowing the guns to be fired. Chameleons

proved excellent fried on toast with a knob of butter. Either way, (Mr Wood's or mine) butter is essential and cockroaches ultimately edible after processing described.

Graham Blinn,
London NW3.

The pinkoes who help to people Paranoia Gulch

WITH the Government's Australian ordeal over for the present, I recall a conversation I had shortly after the election in October 1974. I went to see a respected politician, who had been prominent in the Heath cabinet and now faced a lengthy exile from power. What were his plans? Would he stay in front-line politics, or perhaps retire to his pastures?

He replied with unexpected ferocity. He certainly intended to remain in politics, and for a simple reason. He felt it his patriotic duty to nullify, and as soon as possible defeat, the Labour Government of Harold Wilson. This was because it was peopled by traitors.

Furthermore, he could name them. During his time in government he had seen their security files. On the basis of these he could say with certainty that Mrs Barbara Castle, Mr Michael Foot, Mr Tony Benn and Mr Denis Healey were "Muscovites." The most suspect of all was Healey. "Perhaps," he said with relish, "we will wake up one morning and find that Denis Healey is in a pool of blood on the pavement."

My informant was a reasonable man. He survived the Labour years to become a prince among wets under Mrs Thatcher. He would never contemplate saying a fraction of this in public. Na Tebbit, far too civilised, and scornful of almost everything the Tory Right represents.

But what he does share with them is a partially paranoid mind. Admitted to the depths of this seeming organism, I was reminded that even in the Gentlemen's Tendency, the Labour Party is regarded as something much more ominous than a political opponent. And when, having recounted this

episode in another place in 1977, I ran into the gentleman in question at a party conference, he volunteered with grinning jubilation: "I still believe it. I still believe it."

This glimpse into an unshakeable faith has its modern continuities. At the same time as a departed minister was filled with these apprehensions, a cabal of MI5 officers, including Mr Peter Wright, was, according to Wright himself, preparing to act in a similar fashion in a series of unauthorised operations against the Labour prime minister.

There was common feeling, if not provably common cause, between Conservative politicians and security officials of the Wright persuasion. Indeed, a detail of my own encounter which has remained with me is that it coincided with the visit to my informant's house of a shadowy figure, leaving as I arrived, who was casually described to me as "the chap who kept me informed on these things when I was in government."

Labour's questionable allegiance was a theme pursued by Mrs Thatcher throughout her time in Opposition, and it united all wings of her party. On a Panorama programme in July 1977, she all but asserted that Labour was indistinguishable from the Communist Party, and said that Prime Minister Callaghan, while not perhaps a Trotskyist himself, was surrounded by Trotskyists he could not control.

The echoes of this reach into 1986. Indeed, they are getting louder. The prime minister's attack on Mr Kinnoch now resounds with intimations not of error but of treachery. A streak of venomous hatred, not manufactured for parliamentary show, enters her every

reply to any question that has any bearing on defence and security.

If you press the average Tory to explain this, he will come up with one or two plausible bits of evidence going rather beyond Arthur Scargill's one-time liking for holidays in Bulgaria. Plainly there are militants in the Labour Party who long for the overthrow of capitalism, and devote their lives to the unpromising objective of a British revolution. There always have been such dreamers, and now they have a foothold in a few inner-city branches and councils.

It might also be said that the Labour Party tends to see the Soviet Union in a less menacing

light than the Conservative Party. It is not so disposed as the Tories to assume that Moscow is poised for the attack. In its coarser variant, this feeling is accompanied by a gut anti-Americanism which is usually as blind as it is dumb. Plenty of material here to titillate the excited imagination of a Tory Commie-spotter.

Again, images of the East European socialist state have rolled easily off the tongue, especially in 1979, as a description of what Labour's economic policy would lead to. Perhaps this is mere political slanging. But it helps reinforce the impression that if you scrape the skin of British socialism, you will find an arm of the Comintern, sometimes willing, sometimes unwitting, but Muscovite all the time.

This, soberly and fiercely, is what my 1974 informant believed, and doubtless still believes. It is, in fact, a delusion so gross as to make one wonder about his sanity and

that of the legions of Conservatives who think as he does, not excluding the present prime minister. The fact that this was a leader's opinion of Healey, Castle, Foot and Benn tells one a lot more about the psyche of Conservatism than the politics of socialism.

What such a judgment says is that the Labour Party fundamentally lacks legitimacy. British socialism, we are to understand is not simply a creed that doesn't work. It is actually an alien force: its policies East German, its allegiance Russian, its leaders dupes or manipulators of this misbegotten creation. When Mrs Thatcher speaks of needing a third term to destroy socialism, those are the well-springs of her passion.

Now it is true enough that British socialism has lost its way. It teters uneasily between obelisks to Marx, to Croeland, to Tawney. If you took some of its ideas to their logical conclusion, you might indeed end up in East Berlin; but this overlooks the fact that logical conclusions are what the Labour leadership is at great pains to disavow.

That leadership is not very different from the leadership of socialist parties elsewhere in Europe. Yet nowhere else is a challenge made to the very right of a "socialist" party to exist. Nowhere are questions asked about its patriotic reliability. Only in Britain does the governing party contend that its main rival ought, in a well-ordered world, to be wiped off the board as a foreign excrescence.

Given the odious intolerance of a handful of local authority bosses, you might say that the Tories have a point. Brent and Haringey councils look like being a vote-losing embarrassment for Labour. But in

their major claim, breaching the integrity of the Tories, go a substantial way towards repudiating the values of democratic politics.

There could be no graver charge against a security service than that it acted to destabilise its own government. Yet this is what a participant in the operation against Wilson now apparently confesses. He thinks he was doing the country a favour. It is a deeply scandalous prima facie revelation. If any event of the recent past requires a judicial inquiry, there could not be a more obvious candidate.

But the present government appears not to be interested. It puts up a junior minister to try to blow the thing away with one feeble puff.

At the bottom of the government's indifference, however, lies this other factor. Harold Wilson, as Roy Jenkins aptly said, carried light ideological baggage. So does Mr Kinnoch. But inside the most unexpected Conservatives, an MI5 file-keeper is struggling to be heard. For them, all socialists are walking in the wrong direction.

A COUNTRY DIARY

INVERNESS: Two months ago a local naturalist brought me a small mammal to identify as he could not work out which species he had obtained. It had been brought in by a cat that had been hunting along the shore line of Loch Ness. The blunt nose indicated it was a vole but the specimen was too large to have been a bank vole or field vole and in any case its tail was too long. However, the tail was far too short to have been a brown rat and the ears and muzzla were also too short. So by a process of elimination it could only be a water vole. However, this was no ordinary water vole as it was completely black rather than the more usual brown colour. This black form — some people claim it to be a distinct subspecies, *Arvicola terrestris neta* — is only occasionally found in Britain and generally in the north of Scotland. To be fair to the naturalist who brought the specimen for me it is unusual to see a black form and the size aspect was not readily apparent as it was immature.

The distribution maps of the water vole indicate that the location where this particular vole was found is at the extreme northern edge of its known range, although it is suspected to occur even further north and west. Although I have not seen a live water vole in the Highlands I have occasionally found them as prey items in golden eagle eyries and these have always been the black form. This is another indication of the wide range of food that golden eagles will take. Other predators on the water vole included stoat, mink and pike. Water voles are therefore uncommon throughout the Highlands and do not seem to occur at all in the Inner or Outer Hebrides. So most people I spoke to had never seen a water vole let alone a black one and there was considerable interest in the specimen.

So much interest in fact that I decided to have the specimen mounted. The end result is a very attractive and interesting mount with the animal on a small log and sitting upright in the feeding position with its tail curled over the log. The small front feet each grasp a small piece of soft rush. For interpreting Highland wildlife at shows and lectures — including schools — it has already proven invaluable.

Ray Collier

THE GUARDIAN, December 28, 1986

RAF 'would prefer fewer Awacs to risking Nimrod'

THE RAF is prepared to buy fewer American Awacs than it needs, pay more for them, and wait until 1991 to get the first one, rather than risk being left with a British Nimrod radar aircraft that is still inadequate.

This was the essence of the explanatory statement which the Defence Secretary, Mr George Younger, made to the House of Commons on Thursday last week when he confirmed the Government's decision to scrap the GEC Nimrod after nine years' work and purchase a fleet of Boeing Awacs instead.

Mr Younger said it was a sad decision. Everyone's instincts would be to buy British if we could. But he was sure it was right. It was based on unanimous advice, scientific, military and civilian, that the risk of assuming that GEC could get the Nimrod radar working properly in three years as the company said it could — was too big.

The Defence Secretary acknowledged that the issue could not be absolutely resolved. It was a question of whose engineering judgment one accepted — GEC's or the ministry's. He also admitted that the British avionics firm was prepared to back its own judgment by paying half Nimrod's remaining development bill of £860 million. That £330 million share would only have been repaid by the Government if the 11 Nimrods had been delivered on time to the required specification.

But GEC could not carry the military risk of failure, which would leave the RAF without any airborne early warning aircraft in the early 1990s, and it was this, Mr Younger said, which forced him to play safe by buying an American system that would definitely work.

The Defence Ministry is therefore cancelling all its Nimrod contracts with GEC immediately, and placing an £860 million order for six Boeing E-3 Awacs aircraft instead, for delivery from 1991. A fleet of six aircraft is not enough to mount the four airborne early warning patrols the RAF wants; it will only manage three of them, to a lower standard than required.

But Boeing has given the ministry the option to purchase a further two aircraft at the same

price — £95 million each — within six months, and Mr Younger says he will consider whether these can be afforded when he has had a chance to assess next year's long-term budget costings.

The full cost of meeting the air staff's original requirement (ASR 400) will therefore be £1,050 million, rather than £860 million (plus the £330 million already spent on Nimrod) — a difference of nearly £400 million, not the £200 million mentioned somewhat confusingly in the Commons statement.

The minister said at his press conference later that he had al-

ready conveyed his decision to the French defence minister, Mr Andre Giraud. He thought it likely that the French air force would now follow the RAF in buying American, and although this would be a separate order with Boeing he hoped that there would be some savings in the lower unit costs of support and maintenance items.

The RAF has not been offered any US Air Force Awacs aircraft on loan to bridge the gap between now and 1991. This will continue to be filled as best it can by obsolete propeller-driven Shackletons with radars using second world war technology — one of the reasons the RAF was not inclined to take a chance on Nimrod.

However, the RAF will be exploring the possibility of sharing the training facilities already established in West Germany for the existing Nato fleet of Awacs. This last point implies that the £860 million contract with Boeing does not include all training, support items, although many of these have been acquired for Nimrod. But the figure does include allowance for penalties now payable to GEC.

The Defence Secretary said he could not take the risk of the RAF's programme not being achieved. As for lessons to be learned, the minister said his department was not trying to evade its share of responsibility. "Our experience with Nimrod has reminded us of the importance of establishing

company or the stock market was aware of the decision until it was announced by the DTI the following day.

The IC Gas incident is not the only time when share prices have moved suddenly ahead of a bid reference. The inquiry is likely to focus on a series of other cases as well, possibly including Monopolies Commission clearances of a link between P & O and European Ferries.

The Government has already cracked down in recent weeks on suspicious share dealings in the City. DTI inquiries are going on into the affairs of the brewing group Guinness and Consolidated Gold Fields. And a stockbroker, Mr Geoffrey Collier, has been charged with insider dealing.

The DTI said that the latest inquiry would be carried out by Mr John Lindsay QC, and Mr Peter Crozier, a former head of the Inland Revenue inquiry branch, after allegations that public servants may have misused information.

By Mery Bresler and Peter Rodgers

Share price sensitive information is handled by a number of sections within the DTI, from the policy division to the press office. "Only people who need to see information have access to it," said a DTI spokesman. He added that the existing arrangements for vetting takeover bids would continue.

The DTI had a complaint from the merchant bankers Morgan Grenfell, about the price movement in IC Gas shares the night before the Monopolies reference

agreed contractual terms at the earliest possible stage," he told MPs.

News that the Boeing system had been sanctioned by the Cabinet marginally pushed up the shares of Plessey, Racal and Ferranti, the three principal British partners in the Awacs consortium.

GEC's share price remained down at about 6p over their 160p low for the year. In six months the group has had its market value knocked down by about £1.7 billion to just under £4.4 billion.

GEC, headed by Lord Weinstock, is expected by City watchers to increase its write-off costs on Nimrod from £16 million so far to £25 million at the end of the current trading year. Although analysts expect GEC as a whole to weather the storm, the outlook for GEC Avionics, where up to 1,500 jobs are expected to be lost, is bleak.

Deal infringement of sovereignty

By Paul Brown

THE contract offered by Boeing to place offset work in Britain as part of a deal to supply its Awacs radar system would be an infringement of sovereignty.

Boeing confirmed that under the US Export Administration Act 1985 any British company accepting a contract from them would have its business placed under the control of the US Department of Commerce. Under US law the department must licence and control all movement, manufacture, and sales of US technology in Britain.

Mr Michael Havers, the Attorney General ruled three years ago that this US act is an infringement of UK sovereignty and must not be accepted by British companies.

Last June the Government, in an unpublished note of protest, told the US government to stop intervention in British companies under this act. The occasion for that protest was a raid by CIA agents on a Leeds company to discover what had happened to US computer parts.

A FORMER lance corporal with the Royal Engineers last week won a High Court victory that could give him and hundreds of other ex-servicemen the right to sue the Government over cancers allegedly contracted after they witnessed the British atomic and hydrogen bomb tests on Christmas Island in the late 1950s.

In a ruling that will be seen as a potential erosion of the Crown's immunity from legal action, Mr Justice Caulfield held that the Ministry of Defence could not rely on immunity as a complete defence to a damages claim by a blood cancer victim, Mr Melvyn Bruce Pearce.

But the Crown was granted leave to appeal to the House of Lords and Mr Pearce, aged 49, of Buckwell, Bristol, will have to wait until the case is finally decided by the Law Lords before knowing whether he can go ahead with his action against the Defence Secretary, Mr George Younger and Ministry of Defence.

The Government announced two weeks ago that the controversial Section 10 of the 1947 Crown Proceedings Act, which has barred members of the Armed Forces from bringing legal actions against the Crown, was to be repealed. But the change will not help Mr Pearce and others seeking to sue over the

past injuries because it will not be retrospective.

But after last week's ruling, Mr Mark Mildred, Mr Pearce's solicitor said that repeal of Section 10 gave Mr Pearce an added argument that it would be unfair to penalise him because his illness related to an incident 30 years ago.

Mr Pearce claims that, at the time of the bomb tests, he was owed a duty of care, not by his Army employers, but by the now-defunct Atomic Energy Authority. The Authority was merged in Crown body, but its military functions came under the control of the Ministry of Defence in 1973.

In his judgment, Mr Justice Caulfield ruled that the authority's rights, liabilities and obligations in its military operations were transferred directly to the Defence Secretary and not to the Crown itself.

That judge rejected the ministry's argument that the Secretary of State was "the crown itself" rather than an officer of the Crown and therefore could not be sued.

Mr Pearce claims that on Christmas Island, he worked on a refuelling unit used in connection with atomic tests and saw nuclear explosions.

His illness started in 1966 and a severe skin condition developed in 1970.



"Oh back - it's my husband! I'd installed the Nimrod system but the Ministry of Defence were right - he's got through undetected."

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THE WEEK

FIVE HUNDRED days after announcing its unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests, a Soviet Government statement last week announced that it would resume testing next year, immediately after the first American nuclear test of 1987.

This represents a dramatic setback to one of the boldest strokes of Mr Gorbachev's foreign policy. "The Soviet Union cannot endlessly show a one-sided restraint in a situation which is causing serious damage to Soviet security," the statement said.

"It laid the entire blame on the American Government. The Soviet Union stressed that it was ready to stop its own renewed testing programme 'on any day, in any month,' if the Americans would reconsider."

THE US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, is "very likely" to meet Mr Oliver Tanbo next month if the president of the African National Congress visits the US, an Administration official said this week. The official noted that Mr Tanbo has not followed through in the past with plans to visit Washington.

POLICE and troops have been rushed to several new areas of Karachi, after fresh outbreaks of trouble. Curfew was imposed on the jail area after a mob of 500 attacked a police station where youths arrested for taking up street barricades were being held.

MR Eloy Gutierrez Manoya, a Spanish-born guerrilla leader who fought in the Cuban revolution and spent 21 years in jail after falling foul of President Fidel Castro, arrived in Madrid this week after being freed. He met his daughter Elena, aged 24, for the first time and was cheered by a crowd of Cuban exiles, including two other former guerrilla commanders.

A TROUBLED homecoming awaited the released American prisoner, Eugene Hiss, as he flew home this week, pardoned by his Nicaraguan captors so that he could be interrogated by congressional committees. Despite President Reagan's emotional support for the release, there was no invitation for Mr Hiss to appear at the White House, although a presidential welcome has become routine for former hostages.

MORE than 80 soldiers were killed at the weekend in an Islamic riot in the western city of Sakhran. Tehran threatened to retaliate within 24 hours with long-range artillery fire on Iraqi military and industrial areas.

INTENSE lobbying is going on in Islamabad after the weekend's cabinet resignation as former ministers, members of the provincial and national assemblies and other hopefuls try to stake claims for themselves in the new cabinet. Key portfolios in a skeleton cabinet are to be allocated later this week.

GREECE and Turkey are trading nasty protests over a border incident in the Evros river area in which one Greek and two Turkish soldiers were killed, but neither side has openly threatened retaliation. Although last Friday's shooting was described by European diplomats as the "most serious recent incident" between the quarrelling NATO allies, they noted that both governments seemed anxious to avoid further skirmishes.

THE Finnish Government acted swiftly at the weekend to stop any more terrorist trials collapsing because of defections by nervous jurors. In future, such cases will be heard by judges only. Mr Albin Chalandon, the Justice Minister, put forward an amendment to make a September law on terrorist trials retroactive.

This means that Mr Georges Ibrahim Abdallah, alleged leader of the terrorist group, Armed Revolutionary Labour Front, will face trial without jurors on charges of involvement in the murder of two diplomats in Paris in 1982.

A BIT of lateral thinking by a snowplough manufacturer in the Alps has found a possible — and nationally useful — way of disposing of Austria's embarrassing lake of contaminated wine.

Millions of gallons, impounded last year after the revelation that they had been spiked with an antifreeze additive to make them smoother, may now be sprayed on to the country's icy roads.

Mr Toni Kahlbacher, who makes snow-clearing equipment in Kitzbühel in the Tyrol, thought of the solution while reading about

Students on the march in Shanghai

By Jasper Becker in Shanghai

THOUSANDS of chanting students demanding greater freedom and democracy held China's largest city, Shanghai, in their grip on Sunday night after a third day of protests, the biggest demonstrations to hit the country since the end of the Cultural Revolution 10 years ago.

Vowing to continue marches and demonstrations, the protesters estimated to number between 20,000 and 30,000 at one point, were for the most part good-humoured, although there were reports of sporadic violence. In one incident, reported by the official New China News Agency, 31 policemen were beaten up, and there were at least seven arrests, while the protesters alleged assaults by police.

Early on Monday morning, in sub-zero temperatures, groups of students were maintaining an all-night vigil in the huge, open spaces of Shanghai's People's Park, half an hour's walk from the city

By Jasper Becker in Shanghai

Hall which was earlier besieged by protesters. Still ringing in their ears was the exhortation from one student leader, Dai Junyi, from a local medical college, "All of you should open your eyes. We are being suppressed. The Chinese people will not be slaves."

The Government has reacted cautiously to the daring challenge to its authority, which has grown out of a series of smaller protests held since the beginning of the month in Hefei, Wuhan, Kunming, Shandong, Shenzhen and other cities.

The demonstrations across China are linked to the December 9 anniversary of the 1936 anti-Japanese student protests, which was also marked by demonstrations in Peking a year ago. The subsequent clampdown in Peking is thought to have led students in the provinces to take up the banner. This year the protests

have focused on the election of representatives to local people's assemblies.

The movement began in earnest in Shanghai a week earlier when police intervened to prevent Chinese and foreigners dancing together at a concert given by the US pop group Jan and Dean. Despite attempts by Shanghai's mayor to calm the students, the protests have grown.

The students tabled four demands during their meeting with the mayor — recognition of the legality of the movement, a promise of no reprisals, a free press and free elections.

But in a dawn raid on Saturday, students claimed that police broke up an all-night vigil, arresting 500 students before later releasing 300. The students are now demanding an investigation into police brutality and the release of all the arrested students.

Long, honourable tradition of protest

By Michael Simmona

THE STUDENTS of Shanghai who climbed over their college walls last weekend to get out on the streets and demonstrate may have had a variety of motives, from the desire for democracy to a complaint about official disapproval of a recent meek concert.

But they take their place — and most of them know it very well — in a long and honourable tradition of student protest in modern China which is applauded, though rather nervously, by the Communist leadership.

The last great upsurge of youthful criticism, in the Democracy Movement of 1979-80, worked to the advantage of Mr Deng Xiaoping and his fellow-reformers by attacking the transitional post-Mao leadership which he was manoeuvring to replace. Indeed, Mr Deng helped to stir it up, until the movement became too "democratic" and its leaders were imprisoned.

The latest movement, which can be traced back to the anti-Japanese student demonstrations of last autumn and winter (also, some believe, officially encouraged), is less theoretical and more diverse. So far, it has produced no dissident journals of the kind sold six years ago from Democracy Wall in Peking.

Chinese students today are more individualistic and define the future mainly in terms of opportunities for jobs, travel and personal freedom.

Only toddlers at the height of the Cultural Revolution, most of them no longer share that sense of collective destiny which still sustained the demonstrators against the Gang of Four in the great Tiananmen Square demonstration in Peking in 1976, and the activists of the Democracy Movement.

But they are as quick as any group in the past to seize the chance, to protest against official

heavy-handedness, often in a tone of dramatic hyperbole.

The chance which the students in Hefei, capital of central Anhui province, first seized two weeks ago, is offered by the argument now going on within the central party leadership over the desirability of political reform, and how far it should go. There is a wide divide, only partly masked in the public press, between those who seek real structural reform (perhaps even huddling in a degree of official opposition to the present system of government) and the more conservative leaders who simply wish to clean out corruption and make the system function more efficiently.

The Hefei students adopted a slogan first coined by the Democracy Movement activist, Wei Jingshe, who was sentenced in 1979 to 15 years in jail. "No democracy, no modernisation," they wrote on their banners as they marched to the Anhui provincial government offices, and called for the right to select their representatives chosen in their name by the party for the provincial people's congress.

Mr Dang Xiaoping is really interested in the four economic modernisations — industry, agriculture, science and technology, and defence. But he and his group, nudged forward by more radical advisers, may have to accept one that democracy is the indispensable "fifth modernisation."

There is an odd echo from the experience of Mao Tse-tung which led during the 1980s to a very different direction. When new economic policies had failed to produce socialist plenty and the Great Leap Forward collapsed, Mao launched the Cultural Revolution as a political solution to China's problems.

Rejecting that solution, Deng Xiaoping thought at first that the economic modernisation of China was a sufficient goal in itself. But more recently he has discovered that — as the Chairman liked to say — politics still takes first place.

Yet the models for action on which the Anhui and Shanghai students new base their protest no longer have much to do with Democracy Wall or the Red Guard rallies. With same-day satellite coverage available on Chinese television, they will have watched the recent student demonstrations in Paris and will have heard reports of anti-Moscow riots in Kazakhstan.

If they are motivated by an aim, it has more to do with national or regional identity than with a particular political theory. Last year's anti-Japanese demonstrations struck a popular chord. So, in the non-Chinese Uighur in Xinjiang (where many miles from Alma-Ata where the Soviet Muslims have been protesting), did the demonstrations last year against the Chinese nuclear programme.

All of these themes may merge in Shanghai, where the students on the streets are joined by unemployed youth — including many who have returned illegally from the border regions — and where a second wave of penetration by foreign business and tourism arouses as much envy as admiration.

From the May 1919 movement, which launched the modern Chinese revolution, onwards, every student movement has always sooner or later been suppressed. But it is equally true that every new political stage has been launched by a student demonstration. Those on vigil last night in the People's Park have certainly learned that in their history books.

Changes at the top in Vietnam

By Nicholas Cumming-Bruce in Bangkok

VIETNAM'S sixth Communist Party congress last week elected a new economic reformer, Mr Nguyen Van Linh, as its general secretary in a step that marks the end of an era in Vietnamese politics.

Mr Linh's appointment followed the resignation of the previous party leader, Mr Truong Chinh, and his two top colleagues, the Prime Minister, Mr Pham Van Dong, and the party organiser, Mr Le Duc Tho, the breaking the grip on power of Vietnam's first generation of Communist leaders.

Their departure, along with three other Politburo members, including the Defence Minister, Mr Van Tien Dung, opens the way, if not for a Chinese-style lunch in modernisation, at least a period of transition towards more pragmatic political and economic management.

Using the rhetoric of recent debate and self-criticism, Mr Linh told departing delegates that the congress marked a turning point in the process of "renovating the leadership in the political, organisational and ideological fields."

The political report approved by what the Communist Party daily newspaper Nhan Dan hailed as a "congress of determination, wisdom, renovation and creativity" also makes clear that the overhauling of the party will now be pursued in the middle ranks as well as sweep away unqualified old-timers and to purge the corrupt.

The most important survivor of the Politburo is the 74-year-old Interior Minister, Mr Pham Hung, who moved up one rung to second place in the new line-up.

What is striking about the 14-man Politburo just elected is the weighty presence of old-timers of these who served in the south, who have been closely associated with the pioneering efforts at a more pragmatic, decentralised system of economic management.

In addition to Mr Linh, they include Mr Vo Chi Cong, who was head of the Committee for Socialist Transformation in Ho Chi Minh City and in June was promoted to vice-premier for economic affairs in place of the outgoing Politburo member Mr Le Huu, and who now seems well-placed for the premier ship.

Another is Mr Vo Ban Kiet, who once served under Mr Linh in Ho Chi Minh City before being made chairman of the state planning commission and who proved a staunch advocate of reform. A third is Mr Mai Chi Tho, younger brother of Le Duc Tho, also a former Ho Chi Minh City mayor and a new entrant to the Politburo at this congress.

The ascendancy of those heeding economic reform is not expected to translate into any early shift in Vietnam's policies on Kampuchea, clearly seen by Hanoi as subordinate to the pressing problems of the economy.

Vietnam feels under pressure to demonstrate flexibility to the search for a settlement of the eight-year conflict since Mr Mikhail Gorbachev's Vladivostok initiative diplomats in Hanoi say.

During a visit to Hanoi for the congress, the Kremlin's chief diplomat, Mr Yegor Ligachev, spoke of the beneficial effects to be derived from a normalisation of ties between China and Vietnam, but also referred to "the fair and reasonable policy of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea" towards solving regional problems.

THE GUARDIAN, December 28, 1986

Moscow rushes troops to riot city

By Martin Walker in Moscow

AUTHORITIES in the Soviet Central Asian republic of Kazakhstan, scene of nationalist-inspired riots last week, were accused at the weekend of complacency and ordered to make sharp improvements in the quality of local services.

An extraordinary meeting of the Kazakh government heard that there were serious shortcomings in the republic's housing, trade, and medical services, crop production was below target and consumer goods were in short supply.

Mr Mikhail Solomantsev, a member of the ruling Politburo in Moscow who was sent to the republic after the riots, and Kazakhstan's new Communist Party leader, Mr Gennady Kolbin, both addressed the meeting, the official news agency Tass said.

According to unofficial reports reaching here from the provincial capital, Alma-Ata, at least seven policemen and 13 demonstrators were killed in the riots. The demonstrators, said to number more than 10,000, marched on the Communist Party headquarters on the Wednesday night, broke into the building at three points, and ransacked some offices.

The official Soviet media have said that the disturbances were violent but reported no deaths. According to reports reaching

Western correspondents, 70,000 troops have been rushed to the area, none of them from local Kazakh regiments. Troops with armoured cars occupied the university where the trouble began on Friday night.

Sources here claim that 15 planes left the Soviet capital for Alma-Ata last week, carrying a host of party investigators, and administrative staff who will take over the running of the local Kazakh party.

The riots began after the veteran Kazakh party leader, Mr Dinoukhammed Kuayayev, was replaced by Mr Kolbin, a Russian, in a party coup that had been ordered from Moscow.

Anti-Russian sentiments among the predominantly Kazakh students began the demonstrations. The inability, or perhaps the reluctance, of local Kazakh party officials to cool the situation allowed it to escalate into widespread anti-Russian riots.

According to usually reliable Muscovite sources with relatives in Alma-Ata, the rioters were able to break into two prisons and free the inmates. Russians in the streets were attacked on sight, stabbed and clubbed.

The riots seem to have been

Behind the trouble in Kazakhstan

IN the course of a 40-minute TV news programme, Mikhail Gorbachev's prestige suffered two severe blows before a nightly audience of 160 million of his people. The announcement of the end of the 17-month unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests — an initiative to which he had been personally committed — dented his foreign policy.

Moscow later, the unprecedented announcement of the riots in the southern republic of Kazakhstan amounted to a direct personal challenge not only to Moscow's rule, but also to Gorbachev himself. Gennady Kolbin, the Russian who was this week imposed as the new leader of the Kazakh Community Party to replace Brezhnev's old creny, Dinmukhammad Kunayev, was Gorbachev's man.

The initial Russian reaction was of surprise that "nationalistic elements" should be able to incite such a riot in what is largely a Russian city. The vast region of Kazakhstan, which stretches from the Caspian to the Urals, contains some 16 million people.

The six million Russians slightly outnumber the native Kazakhs, and the rest of the population is a complex mix of Ukrainians, ethnic Germans, Uzbeks, Tatars, Koreans and representatives of the rest of the vast multi-national Soviet empire.

In the 1950s, when Brezhnev was First Secretary, some 300,000 Russian "volunteers" were brought in to till the unfarmed steppes

under the ambitious virgin lands scheme. Although it proved a limited agricultural success, and an ecological disaster, it helped to populate the land — and to reinforce Russian control.

Brezhnev's lieutenant in that process was Kuayayev, who was finally retired last week from the post he had held for over 20 years as First Secretary of Kazakhstan. Under him, a vast network of official corruption developed — and so did Kazakh nationalism, spurred by the increasing Russian settlement, and by the tenacity of the Islamic religion.

So Kuayayev's replacement by Kolbin, who had experience of anti-corruption campaigns in Georgia in the 1970s, was asking for trouble. With the riots, they got it.

But what happened to the usually ruthless Soviet method of maintaining public order? There is speculation in Moscow that local party officials, fearing the inevitable Kolbin purge, did little to stop the initial student demonstrations and may even have encouraged them.

The real concern will be to establish to what extent Kazakh nationalism merged into Moscow's nightmare of an Islamic revival. The Islamic religion is officially permitted on much the same terms as the Russian Orthodox Church. So long as it supports Soviet foreign policy and makes the right noises about peace, and does not get involved in domestic politics, the mosques remain open and the

made worse by local food shortages. Tass reported that one food store was burned down, but many others are said to have been looted.

Significantly, Mr Solomantsev's first statement after reaching Alma-Ata was to insist on restoring relations between town and country, which seems to confirm that supplies had not been reaching the city.

He also called for "a greater sense of internationalism and stronger ties with institutes of higher learning in other republics," which seems to confirm the troubles began at the University. Although only one-third of the population of Alma-Ata is Kazakh, the local Russian students prefer to study in Moscow and Leningrad.

As a result, the university contains a disproportionately high percentage of Kazakhs, who can study in their local language. A West German newspaper, meanwhile, reported that the Soviet Union will let "many thousands" of people emigrate starting on January 1 under new regulations concerning applications for exit visas and family reunions. The mass-circulation newspaper, Bild, quoting unidentified sources in Moscow, said that the Soviet leader, Mr Gorbachev, has ordered that exit applications be handled "generously and justly."

The riots seem to have been

Sen. Dole tells Reagan to 'clean the air'

By Alax Brummer and Michael White in Washington

WITH President Reagan and Vice-President George Bush under heavy fire this week for failing to come to grips with the Iran-contra scandal, Senator Robert Dole of Kansas, the senior Republican on Capitol Hill, led a chorus of voices calling on the Administration to "clean the air" so that the US Government can function again.

Among the immediate steps urged was the appointment of a replacement for the CIA director, Mr William Casey, who is recovering from a brain tumour operation, and a new White House supreme to take charge of its dealings with Congress and investigators looking into the Iran-contra connection.

Senator Dole, who has come from the back of the Republican pack to displace Vice-President Bush as the favourite for the presidential nomination in 1988, said: "There's still a lot of confusion out there, still a feeling he has to do something bold himself to clear the air." President Reagan's image as a strong leader has not been enhanced by apparent suggestions by the Attorney General, Mr Edwin Meese, that the President may have been under addiction after his cancer operation in July, 1985, when he authorised an arms shipment to Iran.

The frustrated President, whose critical faculties are now being openly questioned in the newspaper columns, told Senator Dole in a recent meeting that "people like, but they don't believe in me." The loss of credibility suffered by President Reagan and the Vice-President was recognised by Mr Bush at the weekend. He told correspondents aboard Air Force Two that his resignation as "no longer an option" in the race for the 1988 Republican nomination. But he forcefully rejected the notion that his reputation and that of President Reagan will continue to suffer as "complete nonsense."

Nevertheless, the President's reluctance to go before the American people with what he now knows and the confusing series of leaks has changed the Presidential politics of 1988.

In addition to Senator Dole's surge to the front of the Republican field, Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia said he would make up his mind whether to run for the Democratic nomination "in the next two or three weeks." And Senator Gary Hart, the Democratic frontrunner, weighed into the debate with a wide-ranging attack on the mass in the White House foreign policy-making.

The difficulties facing the White House were demonstrated again with further disclosures about US diplomatic moves in the Iran-Iraq war. The Washington Post reported that the State Department had begun sending peace signals to Iran via Switzerland in late November and early December — in the wake of the exposure of the US-Iran arms connection. At the same time, there were suggestions that in addition to supplying intelligence data to Iraq, the US has also provided quantities of arms in exchange for Soviet military equipment, including helicopters. This indicates a far clearer relationship with Baghdad than previously revealed, adding to the questions which will have to be raised by Congressional investigators.

The White House enunciated last week that President Reagan will return to Bethesda naval hospital for minor surgery for an enlarged prostate which has given him diarrhoea in recent weeks. He will enter the hospital in Maryland for three or four days after cutting short his New Year's break in California on January 4.

In a calculated effort to dampen predictable speculation about the 75-year-old President's health in the worst crisis of his administration, White House spokesman Mr Larry Speakes said the accession of the "non-urgent" transurethral resection would also be used to do the President's 18-month routine check on his colon.

In full pursuit of the Centragate affair, the White House press corps did not raise any possibility that the President's medical problems might, in any way, trigger his resignation — an event without precedent in the history of the presidency. Mr Speakes called his boss "just a superman."

The other superman, Colonel North, is the subject of new revelations. The day the Irangate affair broke, Colonel North burst into a colleague's office and claimed to have ordered relatives of high Iranian officials to be kidnapped and held in crates throughout Europe, presumably including Britain, where the ubiquitous colonel's links have this week already compromised the Archbishop of Canterbury's special envoy, Mr Terry Waite.

This idea, the Los Angeles Times reported, was that they, and not arms, could be traded for American hostages. So shocked was the colleague, Mr David Major, a National Security Council specialist in counter-terrorism, that he repeated Colonel North's highly evocative account to colleagues before concluding it was yet another of the fantasies now being alleged against the central figure in the scandal.

Mr Speakes said, for the record: "The NSC has no such plans or anything like that to kidnap people and lock 'em in cages all over Europe."

Clampdown on press 'radicals'

By David Beresford in Johannesburg

SOUTH AFRICA published an extraordinary defence of its clampdown on the press at the weekend, blaming "radicals" and "revolutionaries" in the media for most of its present woes.

In a half-page advertisement published in Sunday newspapers — headed "the facts in true perspective" — the Government conceded that the six-month state of emergency had still not defused what it described as a "revolutionary climate" in South Africa.

"Under current circumstances there would be a quick return to violence and unrest if the state of

emergency were now to be lifted," it said. Describing the conflict in the country as "primarily a struggle of perceptions, not of conventional arms," it protested that "most of the media" — despite the emergency — had continued to promote the cause of the "radicals" rather than the "moderates."

Expressing "respect" for what it called "the bona fide inclination of the media to adopt critical attitudes towards the government of the day," the advertisement added: "However, there can at the same time be no doubt that there are individuals within the established

media and organs of the alternative media who strongly believe that the media should be overtly and covertly used to promote the objectives of the radical revolution."

Insisting that the struggle in South Africa was between "moderates and radicals," the advertisement concluded by advising the media to "decide which side they are on. In so doing they should bear in mind that were the radicals ever to win, freedom of the press would be the first victim. It would disappear totally and permanently."

The Government's defence of the draconian new Press Laws follows the issue of new orders by the country's police chief at the weekend, and further tightening restrictions on what the Government described as organs of the "alternative media." The new orders — served by plainclothes police on the Swaziland, City Press, and the Weekly Mail — prohibits them from publishing any report, pamphlet, cartoon or advertisement or any other news in connection with campaigns for a "Christmas against the Emergency."

Meanwhile, as predicted, the

national strike by workers at South Africa's biggest chain store, OK Bazaars, is developing into one of the more bitter industrial disputes in recent labour history here. The strike is spreading fast and the union involved — the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union — claims that riot police are being deployed at all outlets.

This story was written under South Africa's state of emergency which imposes severe reporting restrictions.

Lebanon in throes of 'war of starvation'

By David Hlat in Beirut

NATURALLY enough, where Lebanon is concerned, it is the "war of the camps" which captures the attention of the outside world.

But for the bulk of this country's three million cynical inhabitants — for almost everyone, that is, except the Shi'ite and Palestinian combatants, the campdwellers and the Christian villagers of Maghdousheh — it is just another round in a perpetual conflict whose protagonists and localities may be forever changing, but whose forms do not.

It is not their concern because, happily, it is not this time, their region, their city quarter, their street, or, ultimate egoism, just their house that is under assault. The only war that concerns all Lebanese is the one which they call the "war of starvation". It has stolen up on them as suddenly as it threatens to be devastating. To the minds of most people it is literally that: a deliberate, systematic attempt by the warlords to win, by other means, a struggle which, after 11½ years, they have failed to win with their ever-growing arsenals. The warlords all but admit as much.

Last month, Mr Camille Chamoun, the elder statesman of the Christian community, blamed the other side and, in particular, the Prime Minister, Mr Rashid Karami, because of his continued boycott of President Amin Gemayel and the political and constitutional dialogue "even though that meant starving the Lebanese". If it was a question of which side said "ach" first, Mr Chamoun said, then it would not be the Christians. "We shall be steadfast to the end."

Meanwhile the main yardstick of economic calamity, the national currency, is beginning its second nosedive of the year. For the first nine years of the civil war, the Lebanese lira had held remarkably steady, at four or five lira to the dollar. But now, every time the political situation deteriorates, it takes a new tumble.

From July to November, during a period of revived hopes for a political settlement, it held at 45 to the dollar. Then, in three disastrous weeks, it touched an all-time low of 70 to the dollar. The currency dealers may, some of them, be a party to a sinister political conspiracy, but such dark theories are not necessary to explain what happens.

The Lebanese currency market is so narrow that it is extremely vulnerable to manipulation for profit. A mere \$35,000, injected or withdrawn, can raise or lower the rate of exchange by one lira. The dealers have at their disposal Lebanon's very own "Euro-lira", some eight to 10 billion of them, held abroad in their sole capacity of bargaining chips, ammunition for what, in effect if not intent, amounts to a war against the national currency.

The impact on a country which still imports two-thirds of its needs, compared with a full 90 per cent in its halcyon days, has been dramatic. The Western tourist ready to risk an occasional incoming mortar bomb or missile in Christian Lebanon, plus kidnapping in Muslim Lebanon, would find a sun-drenched financial paradise. He could eat in the local restaurants for \$3 or \$4. A bottle of whiskey, because it is autographed, would cost him a little under \$2. Petrol, because it is subsidised, is about 40p a gallon. Electricity, at a third of a penny a kilowatt-hour, is surely the cheapest in the world.

But, for the average Lebanese householder, it all adds up to a cost-of-living increase over two years of between 250 and 300 per cent. A kilo of mutton has risen from 75 lira to 250 lira, tomatoes from 10 to 40, and sugar from 4.5 to 20.

Local produce can be quite as inflationary as imported goods. "In my village," said a resident of Syrian-controlled territory, "a kilo of olives was three lira two years ago. Today it is 24 lira."

Supermarkets sometimes change their prices twice a day, and unscrupulous pharmaceutical companies employ workers full-time to change the labels on medicines whose life-span has expired.

In most countries with hyperinflation, wages tend to maintain a more or less constant relationship with prices. But out in Lebanon, where labour unions are agitating for an increase of only 43 per cent to compensate for a cost-of-living increase, since the last one, of 150 per cent. The public prosecutor, the highest paid civil servant in the land, earns 16,000 lira a month — about £169. Last week a newspaper advertisement invited highly qualified computer engineers to apply for jobs with an IBM affiliate offering a salary of 10,000 lira a month. At 2,250 lira, the minimum wage is worth about £21, compared with the £140-plus, at 1,100 lira, it was worth two years ago.

Unemployment is officially estimated at 35 per cent — an optimistic figure — yet some 70,000 Egyptians, 45,000 Sri Lankans, plus other Asians, stay on for about £18 a month, if only because it could now take many of them years to earn the price of a ticket home.

Yet Lebanon, whose people probably still qualify as the best educated, most energetic and resourceful in the Arab world, is still in some ways quite rural. At \$2.46 billion, its gold reserves in Fort Knox rank twentieth in the world.

Its citizens hold at least \$14 billion in foreign investments. But its foreign currency earnings have recently taken a terrible knock. The \$1.4 to \$1.7 billion which its emigre workers in the Gulf and elsewhere used to send home has plummeted to some \$362 million, thanks both to the collapse in oil prices and the fear which Lebanese, especially the Shi'ites, now inspire in host governments.

Yet Lebanon still earns more in foreign exchange than its Syrian neighbour, with more than three times the population.

Though the society may be rich, the state is poor — and racing towards bankruptcy. It cannot, despite political pressures to do so, touch the gold reserves, because, what would finally destroy "what little confidence is left in its financial institutions. It does not get a penny from what, with the devastation of Lebanese industry, has become Lebanon's largest single export-cum-revenue, some \$422 million worth of hashish that comes entirely from the Syrian-controlled Bekaa Valley.

Next year, the Government has to find 25 billion lira for a budget which, if itself, is an unproductive absurdity.

The Government has turned in desperation to the country's commercial banks. Its internal borrowing is now increasing at such an explosive rate that a debt which stood at a mere 500 million lira in 1979 has risen to 46 billion lira at the beginning of this year and 66 billion lira by October.

The US bases that stayed

AS LABOUR'S non-nuclear defence plans come under increasing pressure from the Government, the Reagan Administration, and large sections of the British media, the "New Zealand analogy" is being scrutinised closely by many of Mr Kinnoch's supporters. David Lange's determination to block the entry of American nuclear-armed warships into New Zealand's waters last year aroused an astonishingly fierce reaction in Washington.

New Zealand's prime minister was accused in deliberately alarmist terms of undermining the country's security. The United States threatened economic retaliation. It refused New Zealand future protection under the ANZUS pact. To many observers in London this heavy campaign looked like the dress rehearsal for what a one-nuclear British Labour Party would face. The fact that during the Blackpool party conference in September Mr Kinnoch rejected the notion of similarly banning American nuclear-armed vessels from Britain was not thought to invalidate the analogy. What his party is proposing touches on aspects of US policy which are far more sensitive and central to Washington's overall concerns. If New Zealand, it would be sure to respond to Labour, and not just in words.

Yet there is a better analogy than the New Zealand case which has been strangely overlooked — the experience of Greece. A Socialist Government came to power there five years ago under Mr Andreas Papandreu who had promised, when in opposition, to work for Greece's total withdrawal from Nato, close American bases, and remove their nuclear weapons. For good measure he also offered to hold a referendum on withdrawal from the EEC.

In some ways his task on the morrow of that election victory in October 1981 was easier than that which is likely to face Mr Kinnoch if he takes power here. Mr Papandreu's election victory was overwhelming. His party was united, and there were no influential voices in the leadership who secretly or openly doubted the wisdom of the official line. It was only seven years since the collapse of the military dictatorship, widely assumed to have been backed by Washington, and Mr Papandreu's policy rested on a broader basis of public mistrust of American motives than prevails in Britain. Five years later all the US bases and nuclear weapons remain in Greece. So what made Mr Papandreu and his Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) change, and would Mr Kinnoch have better luck?

Senior ministers in Athens argue that Greece obtains no benefits from being in Nato, but they now say that to withdraw would be worse. Yugoslavia, in spite of being a founder-member of the Non-aligned Movement, would not welcome a non-aligned Greece, they say, for fear this would upset the geopolitical power in the Balkans. For Greece itself, the anxiety is that Turkey would be completely unrestrained in what the Greeks believe are its aspirations to take control of the Aegean islands close to its coastline.

Most of Turkey's forces are deployed opposite Greece rather than the Soviet Union and the Greeks are particularly worried by the Fourth Aegean Army, with 147 landing craft which are anchored off the Turkish coast.

Concern about Turkey has been the main factor inhibiting a more radical Greek line on the bases and on nuclear weapons. A second issue has been money, and the

anxiety that neutralism would discourage foreign investment. A third one has been the potential reaction of the Greek military. Although the services' top leadership has already been purged by Mr Papandreu's conservative predecessor, Constantine Karamanlis, after the dictatorship fell in 1974, suspicion of Mr Papandreu stretched deep into a largely American-trained officer corps.

Before his election victory, Mr Papandreu had calmed the army's fears by promising to do nothing to inhibit the supply of modern weapons from abroad. For 30 years Greece has received all its tanks, small arms, aircraft and vehicles from the United States. To change suppliers would in itself be an upheaval, so that this commitment by PASOK was already a major step towards maintaining a fundamental relationship with the United States.

In large part real, but also manipulated by the United States, the Turkish lever dominated the security debate between Athens and Washington. The military coup in Ankara which Washington almost certainly helped into being

First of two articles by Jonathan Steele

a year before the Greek elections eased the American path. It made the Greeks more leery of cutting themselves off from the one superpower which, for all its double-dealing, was still the only potential restraining factor against a Turkish junta with expansionist ambitions.

Early on Prime Minister Papandreu decided not to close the bases quickly but to negotiate their removal. They consist of 20 ancillary sites and four large installations, an air base at Hellenikon near Athens, a communications centre for the Sixth Fleet at Nea Makri, an intelligence gathering facility at Heraklion in Crete, and the most important of the four, a naval and air base at Suda Bay in Crete.

Negotiations began in October 1982 between Yannis Kapsis, a former journalist who had been imprisoned by the dictatorship, and Reginald Bartholomew, the State Department's special envoy. For the first few months they proceeded cautiously, but in February 1983 the Reagan Administration dropped a bombshell. It announced a doubling of military aid to Turkey (to \$930 million) while limiting credits to Greece to the previous year's \$282 million, unless the previous Congressional insistence that military aid to Greece be kept at 70 per cent of what Turkey received.

The Prime Minister responded with a letter to Mr Reagan, warning that this could undermine the negotiations and upset the "already fragile stability in the region with unpredictable consequences." However, he did not talk of closing the bases or make any other threats.

Three months later during the Easter recess to the US-Greek talks, Turkish and American jets made a dramatic violation of Greek air space in the Aegean. A week before the negotiations were to resume, it was a reminder of which side the US considered it was on, and what threats Greece might face. The US was still at that stage insisting on a 10-year renewal period for the bases.

Agreement on the bases was finally reached in June 1983. Although its time limit was down to five years, the Americans had obtained the removal of bases

which had once seemed doomed. The United States ended up by doing more in exchange than restoring the proportionate cut in military aid which they had unilaterally made. The Administration pledged to maintain the seven-to-10 ratio of aid during the lifetime of the agreement.

Greece made some gains in enhancing its sovereignty on points of detail. The Americans must supply information on the bases' mission. US military personnel who commit crimes in Greece have to be tried there. Greece has the right to suspend operations at the bases in an emergency.

The Greeks describe the treaty as "an agreement to remove the bases" while the Americans call it one to preserve them. The Greeks say it is unique in not talking about potential extension, but they have to give five months' formal notice to end it. The Americans will have 17 months after January 1, 1989, to close down the bases. The Americans say they will be able to call for a new treaty.

The American nuclear warheads, which are assigned to Greek units, (164 according to reliable unofficial sources in 1985), are still in place. Mr Papandreu has been trying to organise a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans, and until all chances for an agreement are exhausted he declines to take any unilateral step. Here, too, it is Turkey, with US support, which is resisting a move. Some 489 nuclear warheads are stored there.

Greece's maintenance of the status quo on the bases and the nuclear weapons does not mean it is an easy ally for the rest of NATO. It refuses to take part in NATO exercises in the Aegean and on a whole range of issues it continues to stand out and exert the principles of non-alignment. Mr Papandreu has always described the CIA-backed colonels' coup, in Greece in 1967 as a consequence of the division of Europe, and put it on a par with the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia a year later. He resists every effort to be dragged into taking common stands with the rest of NATO if he thinks they are animated by Cold War prejudice (e.g. sanctions against Poland) or by US global ambitions (e.g. pressure on Lihy).

He was the only NATO leader to reject the decision to deploy American cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe. He is the only one to participate in the Five Continents Initiative (with Argentina, India, Mexico, Tanzania and Sweden) which has been trying to obtain a superpower test ban. It would be foolish therefore to see his acceptance of the status quo which he inherited as capitulation. Within the limits of what is possible he continues to seek an independent way. But the fact remains that on the issues of greatest sensitivity to the United States, he has changed his line and given way. Not for nothing do the cynics in Athens claim that the Americans would rather have him in power — a left-winger who accepts the US bases, and thus makes Americans hegemony in Western Europe appear unobjectionable — than a right-wing Prime Minister against whom Mr Papandreu would be free to mobilise from outside.

Was that a fair assessment, I asked him during his visit to London for the European Community summit the other day? "I would rather not answer that question," he smiled. It was the only question which he felt he wanted to duck.

Next week: Mr Papandreu, speaks

Lifar — last of the Diaghilev line

By Mary Clarke

SERGE LIFAR, who died in Lausanne last week at the age of 81, was the last of Diaghilev's great male dancers, and the architect of the Paris Opéra Ballet that we know today.

A colourful personality, a dancer, a choreographer, he was always in the limelight and did, on occasion, resort to prima donna tactics to score over rival dancers or to indulge in such media-darling exploits as his celebrated duel with another supreme showman, the Marquis de Cuevas. But, fundamentally, he was a great artist whose contribution to ballet in this century cannot be over-estimated.

Born in Kiev in 1906, he took his first lessons there with Bronislava Nijinska (sister of Nijinsky) at the age of 16, and after she rejoined Diaghilev continued to work by himself. Typically, he succeeded in getting himself into the group of her "five best male pupils". Nijinska summoned these five as recruits for the Diaghilev Ballet Russe in 1923 — although she hated him, and said he wasn't even in the top 10. But even if he did not have much technique, he had, already, an extraordinary, exotic stage presence, and it was this physical allure that captivated Diaghilev.

Lifar soon succeeded Anton Dolin in Diaghilev's affection, and was given rigorous training to strengthen his dancing. Diaghilev also supervised his artistic education and insisted on a nose operation further to enhance the beauty of his face. He was blessed with high cheekbones, a full mouth, big slanting eyes and lustrous black hair. His figure thickened in middle age but his looks never really faded. And he never lost his charm.

Lifar was promoted premier danseur of the Ballet Russe in 1925, and for him, at Diaghilev's behest, Balanchine choreographed the title roles in Apollo (1928) and Le Fils Prodigue (1929).

He made his first experiments in choreography with Diaghilev but it was after the latter's death, in 1929, that he was to embark on a

fruitful career as principal choreographer of the Paris Opéra Ballet which lasted for a quarter of a century.

Lifar was appointed principal dancer at the Paris Opéra in 1930 by Jacques Rouché and soon became director of the troupe. Rouché knew his company badly needed an infusion of new blood, for it had fallen into decline and become little more than a frivolous entertainment and a happy hunting ground for dandies in search of danseuses to "protect".

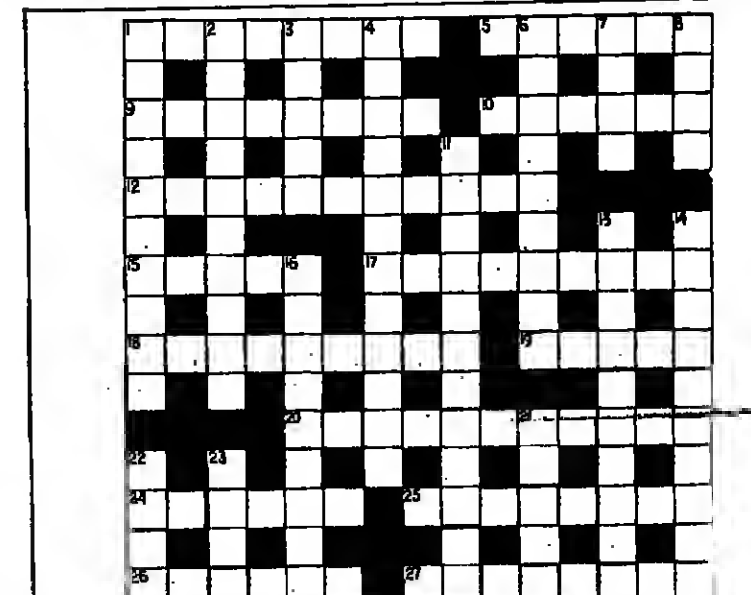
Lifar changed all that. He insisted that ballet be taken as a serious art, that the house-lights be turned down so long as the curtain was up, banned the abortions from the Foyer de la Danse (to their fury), and set about building a repertory and developing the talents of young dancers emerging from the Opéra's excellent school.

Between 1930 and 1937, he staged more than 50 new ballets, dancing many leading roles himself, but also displaying the gift of such artists as Lyette Darsonval, supremely Yvette Chauviré, and Nina Yvroubova.

During the war, Lifar danced on at the Opéra despite the German occupation, not because he had any pro-Nazi sympathies but because he needed, then as always, an audience. He danced for applause, not for politics. But, in 1944, he was fired and turned his attention to the formation of Le Nouveau Ballet de Monte Carlo.

Without Lifar, however, the Paris Opéra Ballet began to go down, and Georges Hirschi soon called him back. He gave his last performance at the Opéra in Giselle (Albrecht) was one of his greatest roles) on December 5, 1956, and finally left the Opéra in 1958.

Lifar was the author of many books. Among them were Serge Diaghilev (1939), the second part of which, called With Diaghilev, is autobiographical; Carlotto Gris (1941); Griselle (1942); L'Histoire du Ballet Russe (1945); and Les Trois Grâces du XXe Siècle (1959) about his goddaughters Pavlova, Karsavina, and Spessivtseva.

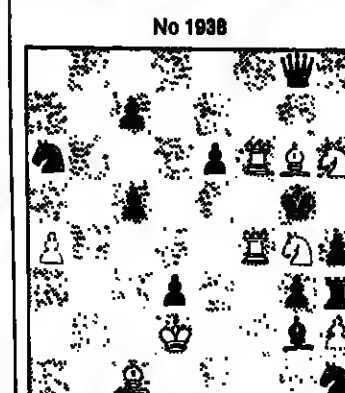


ARACURIA

- ACROSS
- Non-glossy hair of flock, perhaps (8).
 - Drink, for example, when medals returned (3, 3).
 - 10, 15, paintings, maybe, take quiet step like it across (8, 8).
 - Student in alarm that's given by the Pope (7, 4).
 - Speeds often threatened with abolition (5).
 - Try the last sound ever? (8).
 - Seabird gets round in Welsh river in time for lute-sellers (8).
 - Wife having to pay her share? (5).
 - Wife hits log, getting wrecked off South coast (4, 2, 5).
 - Number hardly equal to supplying applause (8).
 - Parrot-bill (the plant: "parrot" is a different page (5-3)).
 - Get animal to importune (8).
 - Jealous view, even in colour, to point (5, 5).

Chess

By Leonard Berden



White mates in two moves, against any defence (by C.P. Swindley, 1985). This two-mover won first prize in a competition in The Problemist, the magazine of the British Chess Problem Society, which welcomes new members. For information, write to the BCPS at 14 Newton Park Drive, Leeds 7.

Solution No. 1837: White K at Q8, O at Q4, R at K7, P at K5. Black K at Q4, P at Q3 and K4. Mate in three. 1. R-Q7, 2. K-K3 2. Q-K4 P-Q4, 3. Q-N6, 4. K-Q4 2. R-7 ch K-Q (K-N3 3. R-B3) 3. Q-B4, 4. R-K5 2. R-R5 ch K-K3 3. Q-K8.

WORLD champion Gary Kasparov and Artur Yusupov were the players who carried the Soviet Union to gold medals at the chess Olympiad in Dubai, in spite of the strong challenge from England and the US. Judged by

traditional USSR standards, the rest of their team had indifferent performances. There were rumours of tension in the camp due to the well-known antipathy between Kasparov and Karpov, and the position of Andrei Sokolov as challenger to both.

Russian point totals were Kasparov 8½ out of 11, Karpov and Sokolov 6/9, Yusupov 10/12, Vaganian 7/10 and Chezhnevsky 2½/5. Kasparov lost to US champion Selarwan, Karpov went down to Lubelev of Yugoslavia, while Sokolov and Vaganian were crushed by Nunn and Chandler in games already given here.

Naturally, there were still occasions when Kasparov played like a true world champion: here he outclasses a young grandmaster.

GM Julius Granda Zuniga (Peru) — GM Gary Kasparov (USSR) OP, Neo-Grinfeld (Dubai 1988) 1. N-K3 N-K3 2. P-K3 P-K3 3. B-N2 B-N2 4. Q-Q4 5. R-B4 P-Q4 6. P-Q4

Here a P-P is more precise, conceding Black less chance for active play. 8. . . P-P 7. N-K3 P-B6 8. P-P P-B4 9. N-K5 N-B31 10. N-KN P-N1 11. Q-Q3

The obvious 11. BxP? is a book trap: 8. R-B1 (2. R-K1 N-Q4 so that 11. BxP ch 14. Q-Q3 O-N5 15. P-B3 BxP ch 16. N-K3 P-Q4 17. P-N3 N-K1 18. BxP N-K1 19. R-K2 B-Q2 20. R-B1 R-R ch 21. N-B3 P-N1 22. K-N1 R-N1 23. P-P ch Q-P 24. P-R8 B-R1 25. B-N4 P-Q4 26. BxN R-R ch 27. B-N4 P-Q4 28. BxN R-R ch 29. B-N4 P-Q4 30. BxN R-R ch 31. B-N4 P-Q4 32. BxN R-R ch 33. B-N4 P-Q4 34. BxN R-R ch 35. B-N4 P-Q4 36. BxN R-R ch 37. B-N4 P-Q4 38. BxN R-R ch 39. B-N4 P-Q4 40. BxN R-R ch 41. B-N4 P-Q4 42. BxN R-R ch 43. B-N4 P-Q4 44. BxN R-R ch 45. B-N4 P-Q4 46. BxN R-R ch 47. B-N4 P-Q4 48. BxN R-R ch 49. B-N4 P-Q4 50. BxN R-R ch 51. B-N4 P-Q4 52. BxN R-R ch 53. B-N4 P-Q4 54. BxN R-R ch 55. B-N4 P-Q4 56. BxN R-R ch 57. B-N4 P-Q4 58. BxN R-R ch 59. B-N4 P-Q4 60. BxN R-R ch 61. B-N4 P-Q4 62. BxN R-R ch 63. B-N4 P-Q4 64. BxN R-R ch 65. B-N4 P-Q4 66. BxN R-R ch 67. B-N4 P-Q4 68. BxN R-R ch 69. B-N4 P-Q4 70. BxN R-R ch 71. B-N4 P-Q4 72. BxN R-R ch 73. B-N4 P-Q4 74. BxN R-R ch 75. B-N4 P-Q4 76. BxN R-R ch 77. B-N4 P-Q4 78. BxN R-R ch 79. B-N4 P-Q4 80. BxN R-R ch 81. B-N4 P-Q4 82. BxN R-R ch 83. B-N4 P-Q4 84. BxN R-R ch 85. B-N4 P-Q4 86. BxN R-R ch 87. B-N4 P-Q4 88. BxN R-R ch 89. B-N4 P-Q4 90. BxN R-R ch 91. B-N4 P-Q4 92. BxN R-R ch 93. B-N4 P-Q4 94. BxN R-R ch 95. B-N4 P-Q4 96. BxN R-R ch 97. B-N4 P-Q4 98. BxN R-R ch 99. B-N4 P-Q4 100. BxN R-R ch 101. B-N4 P-Q4 102. BxN R-R ch 103. B-N4 P-Q4 104. BxN R-R ch 105. B-N4 P-Q4 106. BxN R-R ch 107. B-N4 P-Q4 108. BxN R-R ch 109. B-N4 P-Q4 110. BxN R-R ch 111. B-N4 P-Q4 112. BxN R-R ch 113. B-N4 P-Q4 114. BxN R-R ch 115. B-N4 P-Q4 116. BxN R-R ch 117. B-N4 P-Q4 118. BxN R-R ch 119. B-N4 P-Q4 120. BxN R-R ch 121. B-N4 P-Q4 122. BxN R-R ch 123. B-N4 P-Q4 124. BxN R-R ch 125. B-N4 P-Q4 126. BxN R-R ch 127. B-N4 P-Q4 128. BxN R-R ch 129. B-N4 P-Q4 130. BxN R-R ch 131. B-N4 P-Q4 132. BxN R-R ch 133. B-N4 P-Q4 134. BxN R-R ch 135. B-N4 P-Q4 136. BxN R-R ch 137. B-N4 P-Q4 138. BxN R-R ch 139. B-N4 P-Q4 140. BxN R-R ch 141. B-N4 P-Q4 142. BxN R-R ch 143. B-N4 P-Q4 144. BxN R-R ch 145. B-N4 P-Q4 146. BxN R-R ch 147. B-N4 P-Q4 148. BxN R-R ch 149. B-N4 P-Q4 150. BxN R-R ch 151. B-N4 P-Q4 152. BxN R-R ch 153. B-N4 P-Q4 154. BxN R-R ch 155. B-N4 P-Q4 156. BxN R-R ch 157. B-N4 P-Q4 158. BxN R-R ch 159. B-N4 P-Q4 160. BxN R-R ch 161. B-N4 P-Q4 162. BxN R-R ch 163. B-N4 P-Q4 164. BxN R-R ch 165. B-N4 P-Q4 166. BxN R-R ch 167. B-N4 P-Q4 168. BxN R-R ch 169. B-N4 P-Q4 170. BxN R-R ch 171. B-N4 P-Q4 172. BxN R-R ch 173. B-N4 P-Q4 174. BxN R-R ch 175. B-N4 P-Q4 176. BxN R-R ch 177. B-N4 P-Q4 178. BxN R-R ch 179. B-N4 P-Q4 180. BxN R-R ch 181. B-N4 P-Q4 182. BxN R-R ch 183. B-N4 P-Q4 184. BxN R-R ch 185. B-N4 P-Q4 186. BxN R-R ch 187. B-N4 P-Q4 188. BxN R-R ch 189. B-N4 P-Q4 190. BxN R-R ch 191. B-N4 P-Q4 192. BxN R-R ch 193. B-N4 P-Q4 194. BxN R-R ch 195. B-N4 P-Q4 196. BxN R-R ch 197. B-N4 P-Q4 198. BxN R-R ch 199. B-N4 P-Q4 200. BxN R-R ch 201. B-N4 P-Q4 202. BxN R-R ch 203. B-N4 P-Q4 204. BxN R-R ch 205. B-N4 P-Q4 206. 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Nimrod — less than the whole truth

THE much-trailed decision has been announced: the Government has decided against the home-made Nimrod airframe early warning system and in favour of the American Awacs. The last ditch stand of Mr Jim Prior, the chairman of GEC which produces the Nimrod avionics, has been to no avail. Contracts are being cancelled. Jobs will be lost. Britain moves out of this highly specialised area of technology, and abandons the export potential of the proposed arrangement between GEC and Lockheed. It is indeed a sad day for our high-tech industrial base.

The Defence Secretary, Mr Younger, dressed up his statement to Parliament with much sadness and regret and tribute to GEC. It made no difference to the bottom line: his advice from his Ministry of Defence experts was unanimous; for him the ultimate decision was therefore not a difficult one. "This is a sad decision to have to take, but I have no doubt that it is the right one." He used the presently fashionable Tory defence language, from the paramountcy of the defence criteria to the military threat. It is as though in this single area of political decision-making the language of compromise so central to government is absent, as though here alone there are absolutes.

The absolute so much referred to in Mr Younger's statement was ASR400, the air

staff requirement. It was as though this had been handed down on a tablet of stone. The two systems had not been compared, stressed the Defence Secretary: they had each been compared with ASR400. Boeing matched up; Nimrod did not convince. This is all good, everyday defence staff-speak. It says that there are requirements, and that these must be met. End of debate.

Though Mr Younger never let on, this is, of course, far from reality. Defence staffs do not lay down requirements and get them. Compromise is as much a part of their world as it is of welfare, of taxation levels, or road building programmes. There is not a level of spending, or a level of performance, which provides complete defence, and is therefore approved. If defence staff "requirements" were truly what we would have more tanks and more ships. Defence is about matching desired objectives against economic and political reality. Mr Younger seemed to suggest that this was not the case.

Of course it is important that Britain has an aerial defence system which works, and if Nimrod was simply a hopeless, inefficient case then there would be no argument. But Mr Younger said again that Nimrod does work. The problem, he said, was a failure to achieve a consistent and reliable pattern of results, and his lack of confidence that this

could be achieved in the time GEC had stated. The emphasis was on the defence requirement during hostilities, as though a year or two was life and death. Yet the Shackletons now in use are already obsolescent, and the first Awacs will not be delivered until 1991. Again, Mr Younger was not giving all the facts in the House when he talked about cost. The supposedly sacrosanct defence requirement is for eight Awacs, costing £1050m. But the Defence Secretary announced the ordering of six, for £880m. He will see if he can afford the other two. So much for the "requirement".

Ultimately, the experts' views have been accepted as outweighing the cost to this country in jobs, technology, and exports. The decision has been taken after an enormous amount of money has been spent, and it has granted Boeing a worldwide monopoly which will earn them vast profits for decades to come. When the contracts with Boeing come to be signed he must make very sure that the offset arrangements, whereby Boeing spend £130 in this country for every £100 they are paid for their aircraft, is watertight. Otherwise those who lose their jobs as a result of last week's decision will have cause for bitterness. Mr Younger said job losses caused by Nimrod cancellation will be equalled or exceeded by new jobs through the Boeing offset arrangements. We shall see.

The onus is on the Americans

AFTER 500 days the self-imposed moratorium on nuclear testing by the Soviet Union may be about to end. That would not imply any worsening of relations between the superpowers, as the Soviet ambassador in Washington has tried to make clear; and there is still time for the US to start negotiations which, irrespective of whether it tests more weapons, would postpone a Soviet resumption. The stated object of successive Soviet leaders is that parity, nothing more, should exist between the two sides, and there is no reason to disbelieve that. Gorbachev is the first to put flesh on the dry bone by his startling proposals at Reykjavik in which parity would be maintained at a fraction of the present level. But the corollary is that if the United States is modernising its hardware (by going ahead, for example, with the reusable Midgetman missile) so must the USSR. Even if Gorbachev believes he has all the missiles at his command that any deterrent posture could require, he would still have to satisfy

the military that technical parity was being maintained.

The onus is on the US to make clear the grounds for its opposition to a comprehensive test ban. Reagan is the first President since Truman not to have paid at least lip-service to the idea. The first hurdle was verification. The Russians could not be trusted not to cheat. When semilogists began to say they could distinguish a Soviet test from an earthquake, and the Russians conceded something on inspection, the grounds changed. The Pentagon said that, verification or no, it needed to go on testing for military reasons. There may be truth in that. If indeed the weapon design of the 1970s relied on continued updating of the warheads. But the military reasons did not impress a majority in the House of Representatives, which voted 268-148 for negotiations on a ban, and 234-166 for a year's ban in any case. They do not impress the group of 25 Nobel laureates who publicly protested at the US position early this year. There is

no reason, therefore, why they should impress anybody else.

It seems more than smart PR when the Soviet ambassador says he understands the administration's reluctance to stop testing and therefore proposes a phased reduction instead. It is of a piece with the serious Soviet approach to divisive questions which reached its peak (so far) at Reykjavik. The assumption is that the administration's enthusiasm for repeated testing is to devise a nuclear motor for the laser weapons envisaged in the Star Wars programme.

Yet if the Russians were to compete in this field they would need such a motor too. If they are willing to renounce the proposition the US should do so too. For if there is any cheating on the Soviet side (which semilogists say they would detect) it would not be too late, even if it were regrettable, to start again. In this regard, as unfortunately in others, the American administration does not at present have much going for it.

Hard Lucca

ITALIANS have been agog at the spectacle of the squabbling contenders for the estate (which includes the rights for his opera) of Giacomo Puccini, who died 62 years ago. Claimant number one is the illegitimate daughter of Puccini's own illegitimate son, Antonio. Last year, after 12 years' litigation, she established her legal right to be known as Simonetta Puccini — and she is not going to let anyone come between her and the estate.

But she has a problem. When Antonio Puccini died in 1948, he left his father's money and property to his wife, a Milanese baroness. When she in turn died, without children, the Puccini estate went to her brother, the Baron Livio dell'Anna. Now the baron, a Riviera socialist, has died in a Milan hospice, bequeathing everything to no less a figure than his lifelong butler. So this lattarday Figaro now becomes the owner not only of Puccini's possessions (including his villa at Torre de Lago in the Tuscan coastal pinewoods) but of the rights to his operas including *La Bohème*, *Tosca*, *Madame Butterfly*, and *Turandot*. And, if that were not enough, a third claimant has now entered the competition. The Puccini Foundation, which thought it had the rights to Puccini's birthplace in Lucca and to the composer's villas and which exists to perpetuate his memory as a musician, is also anxious to protect itself against the granddaughter and the butler. As a result, a Lucca court has sequestered the entire contested estate, pending a final decision as to which of the three claimants should triumph.

It could make a Puccini opera, and it would not be the first time that the composer's extrovert lifestyle found itself influencing his work. Not so long ago, a production of *Turandot* in Glasgow transferred much of the action from Imperial Peking to Torre del Lago in order to point up the connections between Gozzi's cruel play on which the opera is based and the domestic scandal which engulfed Puccini in 1909, when his servant Doria Manfredi committed suicide after allegations of a relationship with the composer that went beyond the call of duty. But the most striking parallel is already there. Puccini's one-act comic opera, *Gianni Schicchi*, is precisely about a will. It tells of the anguish of the relatives of a recently deceased Florentine when they discover that he has willed his entire fortune to a monastery. They call in Schicchi, who agrees to impersonate the dead man and to dictate a new will, leaving the estate to the relatives. That isn't quite what Schicchi has in mind, of course, and he duly wills the vultures to himself, leaving the house to his daughter and her lover. Somehow, we suspect there may be a Gianni Schicchi alive and active in Lucca in 1986, too.

Le Monde

ENGLISH SECTION

Moscow television reported on December 19 the visit of a Politburo member (Mr Solomentsev) to Alme Ata, but without making any reference to the riots that had taken place in this city and which the Soviet media had covered the same morning. The disturbances, which it has now been confirmed caused several deaths, drew attention to the ways in which the new Soviet leadership's nationalities policy has been swept off course in the past year or so.

Ligachev may carry the can for riots in Kazakhstan

"WHENEVER a representative of Central Asia or Transcaucasia is portrayed on our screens, he is usually depicted as a coarse bumpkin speaking with an appalling accent and wearing a papakho (fur hat worn by easterners) or a stupid old-fashioned cap. He is most often employed in the trade sector. In a funny piece — if one may put it that way — that appeared in our eminent *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, one writer even tried to sketch out a sort of caricature of a mean for an inhabitant of Central Asia and Transcaucasia."

This cri de coeur from the Armenian writer Petrosian Vardghes last June about certain overcomplications in the Soviet cinema, was only one of many protests that were made by participants at the Soviet Writers' Congress concerning the wider question of national minorities and the fate reserved for their cultures.

Others condemned the monopoly exercised by Moscow in making decisions on national language issues, "the creeping tendency to reduce the population of local origin" in certain republics (in this particular case, Latvia, but the criticism is just as applicable to Kazakhstan), the dangers threatening local languages and so on. In the past, there are even more pronounced signs that the nationalities policy has gone off the rails in the movements of workers and management executives. The party programme is quite clear on this, since it provides for "promoting exchanges of management executives and specialists among republics, for widening and improving the training of skilled workers among citizens of all nationalities and ethnic groups." An apparently praiseworthy goal which in practice has resulted in speeding up Russianisation on the one hand, and uprooting local populations on the other.

For the nationalities policy seems to have gone off course following the change of leadership in 1985.

The party programme adopted by the 27th Congress last March in fact introduced no fundamental changes in this area. On the one hand, it contains well-worn self-congratulatory statements proclaiming that the problem has been "successfully resolved", and that the objective aimed at is to "bring nations and ethnic groups ever closer together", indeed to ensure "their total unity". And, on the other, the programme also points out that it will be possible to reach this final goal only "in a distant historical perspective" and that care must be taken to avoid "any artificial acceleration" in the process that has to remain underpinned by "voluntary action, equality and brotherly

cooperation". But statements made at the party congress end elsewhere clearly showed that such an acceleration was under way on at least two points.

On the language issue, first, the emphasis has been on bringing Russian into general use both in education and in the army, which was already under Leonid Brezhnev considered to be the special crucible of homo sovieticus. Writing in the journal, *Kommunist*, last May, Academician Broniei noted that the proportion of Soviets claiming to speak Russian had risen from 76 to 82 per cent between 1970 and 1979, but he also pointed out that "in certain republics, young people today have

By Michel Tetu

a less firm grasp of this language than the average population." In his opinion, therefore, there was a need to promote "a further extension and qualitative improvement of the knowledge of Russian, especially in the rural zones of Central Asia, Transcaucasia and Estonia."

It is a situation which, in Central Asia especially, has led to the almost exclusive construction of Russian-language schools at the expense of the others.

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It is no accident that the disturbances have taken place in Kazakhstan, the very republic which has served as a testing ground in recent years for conducting the policy of "intermingling management executives". Appointing a Russian, Gennadi V. Kolbin, who had never worked in Kazakhstan, to take the place of the dismissed 74-year-old Kazakh

leader, Dinmukhamed Kunyev, proved to be the last straw, though there was nothing very unusual about such a posting. Kunyev's three predecessors in the '80s were two Russians, Leonid Brezhnev and Nikolai Beliyev, and a Byelorussian, Pantaleimon Ponomarenko.

Lower down in the 19 regions making up Kazakhstan, there are eight Russian first secretaries out against 10 Kazakhs. The most recent appointment has been of a German, Braun, as party leader in the virgin sea regions in place of a Russian. Doubtless in response to discreet pressure from Bonn, concessions have recently been made to the former Volga Germans who were deported by Stalin, about a million of whom are now living in Kazakhstan.

Kazakhs are not entitled to similar consideration, but the situation was scarcely different under Brezhnev. In 1981, there were seven Russian regional secretaries compared with 11 "nationals". At any rate, Kazakhstan had been and still is the least favoured of a nation than neighbouring Central Asian republics (only two Russians among Uzbekistan's 12 regional secretaries, for example; even the practices of making-aussa Moscov has its eyes and ears locally, which was organised and perfected under Stalin, is still in force everywhere. Wherever the party head is a local man, his immediate deputy is a Russian or some other Slav sent in by the central apparatus as a second secretary. The fact that Kolbin had already played a similar role in Georgia may well have added to the discontent in Alma Ata.

It should also be noted that the most enthusiastic promoter of the policy of "intermingling management executives" is not Mikhail Gorbachev, who has not said much on the subject, but the party's No 2 man, Yegor Ligachev, who oversees at the central secretariat the movements of personnel and therefore must have played a key role in naming Kolbin to head the party in Kazakhstan. Speaking about the Brezhnev period at the 27th Congress, Ligachev had in fact criticised "local and regional outlooks" which "prevented promoting representatives of all the nationalities to management posts, hampered the exchange of management executives among regions and the interchange of experienced government employees between republics and the centre."

Will the Alme Ata riots, announced so quickly by Tass, serve as a pretext for high-level discussions aimed at reshuffling posts, or even getting rid of Ligachev? Things will become clearer at the next plenary session of the central committee, which was postponed in November and has now been promised for the end of the year. It is all the more important, as the "management executives policy" — the very same one whose effects have been seen in Kazakhstan — is down on its agenda.

(December 21/22)

CHAD claimed at the weekend that Libya had lost more than 400 men. 17 tanks in a counter-attack by Chad in the north of the country. The renewed fighting came as the US stepped up an emergency airlift of \$16 million in arms and ammunition to government forces in Chad. A statement issued by Chad's military command said that Libyan soldiers were routed at Bardai in the rugged northern Tibesti mountains by followers of former rebel leader, Mr Goukouni Oueddei, who until recently was backed by Tripoli. Libya has denied any involvement in the Chad fighting.

Gadafy takes a beating in Chad

AT MINOR political and military cost to itself — for now, anyway — France has reassessed its support for the government of Hissène Habré which will be sufficient to make him desist. Colonel Gadafy has in fact suffered a major setback since the defection of northern Chad. The drop of supplies in the Tibesti hills carried out on the night of December 16/17 by two Transal aircraft does however amount to much more than giving "humanitarian" aid to the Touhou people who have been suffering from the exactions of the Libyan army. Apart from supplies of food and blankets, anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons have been airlifted to troops who have re-

halt the Libyan advance.

There is no certainty, however, that the "signal" sent to the Libyan leader will be sufficient to make him desist. Colonel Gadafy has in fact suffered a major setback since the defection of northern Chad. The drop of supplies in the Tibesti hills carried out on the night of December 16/17 by two Transal aircraft does however amount to much more than giving "humanitarian" aid to the Touhou people who have been suffering from the exactions of the Libyan army. Apart from supplies of food and blankets, anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons have been airlifted to troops who have re-

clear that the strategy of trying to negotiate with Tripoli, which until only a few weeks ago the prime minister's office only half believed in, has now been dropped. France today considers that its Arab partners themselves are in a position to draw a distinction between its Middle East policy and its army's intervention in Chad that has been made necessary by its historic ties with Africa and Colonel Gadafy's behaviour. At any rate, Paris could not, without forfeiting the advantages of its Operation Sperruhrnwsk, turn a deaf ear to Hissène Habré's appeals for help relayed by several African heads of state.

COMMENT

meined loyal to Goukouni Oueddei (a former Chadian President who led a rebellion against the present government of Hissène Habré) but is now believed to be a prisoner in Tripoli) to help them counter the Libyan President's strategy of encircling the Tibesti massif.

By intervening north of the 16th parallel in a zone controlled until now by Libya and its allies, Paris has taken another step in what Tripoli sees as an "escalation" of France's military presence in Chad. The decision, which was moreover reached unanimously by the French President and the Prime Minister, has the added advantage of demonstrating once again that France stands by its closest African allies who are still apprehensive of Colonel Gadafy's expansionist ambitions.

It was not, however, with any great joy that Paris resolved to take the risk of seeing French planes shot down by Libyan fighters. Both the Elysée and the Matignon, as well as the Defence Ministry decided it was better to take limited action now rather than be forced in the near future to mount a large-scale operation to

Two planeloads of supplies obviously do not fulfil the Chadian President's expectations. At the very most it gives the Chadian fighters in Tibesti a breathing space, and it is now up to N'Djamena's army to do the rest.

There remains the question whether this help will be sufficient for the Chadian leader to successfully win back the northern part of his territory, which in all probability he will never be prepared to write off. For the moment, Habré, who likes to compare himself and his men to Afghan resistance fighters, seems to think the West is giving enough aid to help them avert defeat, but not enough to permit victory. The recent air-drops do prove, though, that France has not finished with its commitment in Chad and that other moves can be expected.

(December 19)

'Patients used for Aids vaccine experiments'

By Franck Nouchi

A FRANCO-ZAIREAN scientific team, based in Kinshasa and headed by Professor Daniel Zagury of the Pierre-et-Marie-Curie University in Paris, is said to be currently testing a vaccine against acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (Aids) on HTLV3 positive human beings. The substance used would appear to be extracts of the Aids virus membrane capable of stimulating the body's immune system, which the researchers hope will protect it against the appearance of the disease.

So it is not strictly speaking a vaccine, but a therapeutic method likely to prevent patients exposed to the Aids virus from developing the disease. The disclosure of these experiments, made by the New York Times, following on the heels of rumours suggesting that "unauthorised" vaccination tests were being conducted in Zaire, has left the scientific community puzzled. The first point: it is not a vaccine against Aids, since the few people said to be taking part in the tests

have already been infected by the disease, whereas a vaccine protects a healthy person against the appearance of a disease.

For his experiments, which appear to make use of the virus membrane, Professor Zagury is either collecting the infected patient's lymphocytes — and this is the most probable guess — and activating them in vitro with extracts of the virus's membranes, after which all that remains is to reinject the reactivated lymphocytes back into the patient; or he is quite simply injecting extracts from membranes directly.

The tests, on a limited number of patients, are reported to have been conducted since September in the greatest of secrecy, but with the permission of the Zairean health authorities.

Dr Jonathan Mann, the World Health Organisation expert in charge of the agency's Aids programme, told me he was not aware of the tests. The first point: it is not a vaccine against Aids, since the few people said to be taking part in the tests

Continued on page 13

Poems as a defence against the gulag horror

IRINA Ratuhinskaya, who arrived in London from Moscow last week, looks frail for a woman of 32 and in ill health. But she is a formidable personality who, during years of harsh imprisonment, has derived strength from a belief in God and in herself as a poet of extraordinary power.

In rejecting her, the Soviet authorities have shown that even in the comparatively enlightened Gorbachev era, an idiosyncratic creative talent is something "the system" simply cannot cope with.

It is not that they don't love and honour their poets. Some of the biggest statues in Soviet cities are of poets — usually from pre-revolutionary times — and volumes of poetry are regular bestsellers. But Stalin played his part in Mayakovsky's suicide and Mandelstam's death in a labour camp, and Pasternak and Akhmatova were intermittently harassed and denigrated until their deaths in 1980 and 1986 respectively. Poets under Soviet rule have often died early, and often by their own hand.

Ratuhinskaya was arrested in September 1982 and released last October. From a small and cluttered flat in the Ukrainian capital, Kiev, she went no fewer than 16 times to the visa office to haggle with obdurate bureaucrats and remove the obstacles to her departure for London.

She met obduracy with persistence and perseverance. One striking point has been her determination that she and her husband, Igor Geraschenko, keep their Soviet citizenship. "We can and must defend human rights by doing this," she said the other day. "It will be very difficult to leave the country and very difficult to return. I don't know if they will let me."

Her wish to commute between exile and her homeland — she was, like Anna Akhmatova, born near Odessa — testifies to the roots of her talent. What resources she will draw upon once she is, as it were, settled in the West, remain unquantifiable. But it would seem very probable that the end results could be very different in character from what has gone before.

But whatever comes next, her reputation is assured, and by common consent she is ranked as one of the most "natural" poets of her generation. Her trouble, as with so many akvare pegs in Soviet holes, was her irrepressible energy as well as her originality. It was characteristic when she was reading physics at Odessa University and during a brief spell on a lecturer, that she gained much pleasure from writing humorous sketches for student theatre groups.

It was equally in character that she gravitated to the Polish (gen-

try) side of her family rather than anything Soviet in her earlier life; that she rejected socialism in favour of Catholicism; and finally that she turned away from humorous writing to a more introspective poetry.

In 1972, aged 18, she was apparently recognised by the security authorities as a dissident element. In that year, the KGB

Michael Simmons on the poet whom the Soviet authorities have allowed to visit the West for medical treatment

asked her to become an informer. She refused, but she became a marked woman. By 1977, she was being closely interrogated for "anti-Soviet attitudes."

About this time, too, she realised that the urge — "vocation" is Igor's word — to write poetry was inescapable, as inescapable as what she saw as the unacceptability of the Soviet way of life and the harassment that had become their lot. Applications to leave the country in 1980 — the last rigid phase of the Brezhnev era — did nothing to help their cause, nor did participation in a human rights demonstration in the centre of Moscow in 1981.

For a while it seemed that appeals might save them. She and her husband were recruited to help

in the 1982 harvest in the Kiev area, but the people who recruited them were not what they seemed, and evidence from *shabashniki* (casual workers) around them was enough to have her arrested.

By the evening of the same day, Igor says, she was being accused of "an especially serious state crime: the writing of poems." Indeed she had been told by the KGB head office (no less) in mid-1981 that her verses were a threat to the security of the Soviet Union. Her charge, when she was tried in March 1983, was "manufacture and dissemination of poems," and "anti-state agitation and propaganda."

The word "slander" came up 160 times during the trial, but Irina declined to join in the proceedings because, she claimed, she could not choose her own lawyer. Even so, she was found guilty — not least, of "an unenthusiastic way of thinking" — and sentenced to seven years' hard labour to be followed by five years' internal exile, a total term which would have been completed in 1995.

Her physical sufferings and her physical deterioration, during imprisonment can only be imagined. She had been something of a fitness fanatic in her time — a keen hiker, a powerful long-distance swimmer, an adroit table tennis player. She lost more than three stones in weight, contracted

high blood pressure and a kidney disease so acute that a year ago there were fears she would not survive.

She had her head shaved, was beaten, force-fed, and placed in solitary confinement in often freezing conditions. There was almost no medical treatment and no family visits.

But still, astonishingly, the poetry flowed, even during a four-month spell in solitary. In all, during four years in prison there were more than 250 poems. Occasionally, pen and paper were available, when they were not, the verse was scratched on to bars of soap with a matchstick, committed to memory, and then washed away down the sink.

Irina says the writing was "not difficult." God, it seems, and the sense of vocation made it easier. The difficult part was memorising all 250 of them and, in the mind, indexing them and the precise time when they were written. Each poem notionally marked extra time on her sentence. That could be lived with — the fact that she, and therefore, the poetry might be forgotten, could not.

Asked why she was finally released, she said perhaps it was something to do with the efforts by the Gorbachev administration to democratise. "But," she added, "I would not call it a humanitarian gesture, more a kind of show."



The Government has accepted the report of a national committee on in vitro fertilisation (see page 14). The cartoon shows Interior Minister Plesquet as the doctor.

Why we need AFP

The head of Agence France Presse, Mr Henri Figeat, resigned on Thursday after prolonged criticism from journalists who immediately called off their week-long strike. The agency lost \$6.8 million last year despite shedding 140 of its 2,000 staff. Further severe job cuts demanded by management have been frozen.

THE CRISIS, perhaps fatal, which has silenced the French news agency, Agence France-Presse, over the past week is not a mere social conflict brought on by financial difficulties.

For the most part ignored by the public, and frequently treated with condescension by political leaders, AFP is not only the main organ of the French press, it is also one of the major sources of news for the whole world. Neither a machine for transmitting raw copy — such a thing has never existed — nor an instrument for disseminating official communiqués, a worldwide news agency is a very complex combination of men and technical infrastructures whose aim is as simple as it is ambitious — report as honestly and as quickly as

COMMENT

possible what is happening on our planet. Not only transmit information, but also go in search of it and provide the maximum of elements likely to help the reader in forming his own judgment.

Four Western agencies have this ambition, and until now only one of them is French. And yet, it is not "the voice of France". Nothing would be more damaging than to set out to defend AFP by invoking this argument which cuts both ways. The agency has already suffered far too much by being identified sometimes as a government mouthpiece.

But AFP is necessary for France as for the rest of the world because it has a universal calling. It has its weaknesses. But exclusive dependence on American agencies — AP and UPI (the latter is also endangered) — and a British agency (Reuters), for which information strictly speaking is only a secondary aspect of its activities, increases the risk of being mistaken on, or completely overlooking, certain events particularly in the Third World.

If AFP disappears or, which is more probable, if it is reduced to the status of a mere subcontractor, a "national" agency, it would have very special consequences for France. Government departments and embassies would quickly regret it. Radio-France Internationale would not have very much to do, and French newspapers — not just those which have few or no correspondents in the world — would be poorer. What is even worse, the French, who are not madly keen about what is happening in the world outside, would be likely to become even more introspective.

The causes of the dispute are complex, and responsibility for it is doubtless shared. There is a question of financing, and this concerns the State. There is also a question of people. Questionable decisions need to be reviewed, and certain corporatist and psychological barriers must be removed. But the stake is much too important not to do everything possible to overcome these difficulties — and very quickly.

(December 18)

"I believe you have just heard the programme of the Minister of the Interior for the coming weeks," said Charles Pasqua on Monday, December 15, at the end of a radio programme in which he was taking part. The minister announced several decisions. First, the suspension — as a "conservatoire mesure" — of Sergeant Schmitt, the leader of the "peloton voltigeur motocycliste" (acrobatic motorcycle squad) whose members are suspected of having assaulted a 22-year-old student, Malik Ousekine, who later died. Next the seizure of a television film sequence, entitled "Les Casseurs", which was shown on December 7.

Thirdly, the minister announced he planned to take action against the daily Communist Party organ L'Humanité and its editor-in-chief, Claude Cabane, whom he accused of having suggested that police agent provocateurs were present among the student demonstrators.

HOW WAS Yves Châlier, the principal defendant and plaintiff in the Carrefour du Développement case, able to elude justice for over six months? Why was he found carrying a passport issued in the name of Yves Navarro which had been prepared by the DST? Why was he helped, backed up and advised by French police officers in his flight in Latin America? How and why could a man, today accused of misappropriating public funds, making use of forgeries, breach of trust and theft, benefit from such solidarity?

It is these simple questions, based on precise facts, that magistrates, police officers and journalists are asking as they conduct investigations inquiring into this shady business. Now Charles Pasqua, interviewed on the radio station Europe 1 on Monday, December 15, refused to answer any of them. Yet, by the very fact of his position, the Interior Minister should be able to throw some light on the matter. The "genuine-but-fake" passport was concocted by a DST department. The main police officer accused by Yves Châlier, formerly chief secretary of Cooperation Minister Christian Nucci's ministerial office under the Socialist government, is Jacques Delebois, head of the international police cooperation service who is politically close to Pasqua. Like all his predecessors, the head of the DST, Bernard Gérard, who was appointed to his job after the March 16 general election, is closely dependent on the Minister of the Interior himself.

So Pasqua does not want to say anything. He accepts his responsibilities, but refuses to offer any explanations. His counterattack is contradictory. "If any explanations are to be asked, they must be asked from me and no one else," he retorts, adding immediately: "I have nothing more to say. I too am under the obligation of respecting secrecy." When asked about the order sent to the DST to produce a "genuine-but-fake" passport for a man for whom an arrest warrant had been issued, he answered:

EVERY DETAIL of the circumstances in which Yves Châlier fled from France early in May this year and went into hiding in Brazil, where he was helped by friends of Controller General Jacques Delebois, has been known since November 21 to the magistrate, Jean-Pierre Michau, who is investigating the Carrefour du Développement case. On November 21, Châlier told the whole story during a hearing that lasted over eight hours in the office of the investigating magistrate.

The report summarising the hearing runs to no less than 23 pages crammed with details and disclosures. The magistrate has not completed checking all its details, but court sources say he is already certain that the flight of the former head of Christian Nucci's ministerial office was in fact engineered from start to finish from Paris by several police officers who kept a "top man" posted on it.

According to the story he told the magistrate, Châlier's troubles began during April 1986 when an investigation initiated at the request of the Cour des Comptes

Time for Pasqua to throw light on Carrefour scandal

By Georges Merlon and Edwy Plenel

sawed: "The DST did its duty." Does this mean the DST's duty was to help him flee? Châlier (he confirmed this to the investigating magistrate) has never been a French counter-intelligence operative. Pushed into a corner, the minister said he "didn't know" what the situation was on this particular point. "You know nothing of it and I don't either; it may well be yes, it may well be no..."

Pasqua had only one answer: no, he had not ordered that the passport be issued to Châlier. That is why he announced his intention of suing for libel following Le Monde's publication of its investigation. But — and this is a new paradox — he explained that the DST head "only did his job". In other words, while he refuses to accept responsibility for his subordinate's action, he neither disavows nor criticises it. Better still, he tags it "a defence secret". But then he would have to tell us where "defence" comes into a case which, until proved otherwise, has nothing to do with spying or terrorism.

Court sources say that Investigating Magistrate Michau is convinced Châlier was helped in his escape by Delebois, who referred the matter to a superior at a very high level, a "top man". That conviction is based on a lengthy hearing of Châlier who gave details of his escape. His revelations showed the extent of the support Châlier had in his flight and how it was managed.

The passport in question is a key element in the case since it provides the material proof of a link between the fleeing man and the police. All the investigators who have had access to the files have

Pasqua was next questioned at length on the Carrefour du Développement case, and especially on the part of the case concerning the issue of a "genuine-but-fake" passport concocted by the DST and the refusal, on the grounds it was a "defence secret", by the head of the DST, Bernard Gérard, to testify on the matter before the investigating magistrate, Jean-Pierre Michau. He then announced he would file a libel suit against Le Monde's investigation that the "genuine-but-fake" passport was issued with the permission of the Minister of the Interior. Pasqua also invoked "defence secrets" in refusing to answer questions on this subject. But he denied the information and accused Le Monde's reporters of conducting a "destabilisation" operation.

no doubt at all that Gérard had the passport prepared on a request from the Interior Ministry. An oral request, without a trace in writing. An request about which nothing was said to Robert Pandraud, junior Minister responsible for Public Safety and working under Pasqua. The passport was prepared in July and the task was given to the DST's technical sub-division under Jean-Pierre Brut. Though the members of this department who did not know for whom the passport was intended, they nevertheless recognised Châlier from the photo which was passed on to them. They were not particularly upset, but they made a note of it and let the fact be known.

There remains the form, which in this case is also the substance, of the debate that Pasqua has initiated with his customary vigour. He appears to suggest that any journalistic investigation of special services — such as an anti-terrorist unit at the Elysée, the DGSE and the DST — is a "destabilisation" operation. In other words, the public has no right to be told the truth, even part of the truth, about this shadowy world. Untouchable and above suspicion, this world may not be questioned or — how can you avoid adding? — controlled.

Pasqua's counterattack is reminiscent of Charles Hernu's reaction in the Greenpeace case. Confronted by the questions journalists asked and the information they had in their possession, the former Socialist Defence Minister's only answer was to condemn the "treachery" of a campaign attacking the "nuclear choir". In that case either, there was no written

proof that a "third team" existed and that Hernu had given the go-ahead for the Rainbow Warrior sabotage. Two realities that nobody questions today. By refusing to offer any explanations, Hernu managed to lose his job.

Is this tendency to feel aggrieved peculiar to the French political class whether on the left or the right? In the light of the public hearings on the "irregular" scandal in the United States, one is inclined to think so.

In the Greenpeace case the DGSE "destabilised" itself without outside help by being caught red-handed in an unfortunate operation carried out on government orders. In the Carrefour du Développement case, the DST has not however been "destabilised" by a "genuine-but-fake" passport. Several senior officers of this department find fault with their superior, Gérard, for having got them into this mess through his inexperience. They make no secret of their belief that calm will return to the DST if Gérard reveals to the investigating magistrate a "secret" which is not one of theirs and which has nothing to do with the objectives of their service.

True, the Carrefour du Développement case is primarily a politico-financial scandal. Men have made use of the State's authority in financial deals for private or partisan ends. The scandal has muddled a former Socialist minister and a former presidential adviser. But neither Christian Nucci nor Guy Pénne has so far been charged. But Delebois has, because of the determination of a judge, not at his own request, as he claims.

For the case within the case is serious. Political officials are suspected of having orchestrated the first scandal, manipulated the plaintiff, offered disclosures to the public in dribs and drabs. They would appear to have utilised their administration, the authority the state confers on them, the secrets and privileges specific to the police and the special services, for partisan purposes.

So French Kiss's qualification is just one stage? It's already a success. At Newport, the Americans used to say: 11

THE GUARDIAN, December 28, 1986

THE GUARDIAN, December 28, 1986

FREMANTLE — French Kiss, France's entry in the 28th America's Cup challenge, will compete with the first-placed New Zealand in the semi-final starting on December 28. For the first time in 135 years, there will be no New York Yacht Club entry in the competition, and this despite the syndicate having set up its training base in Fremantle on October 1, 1984 and poured more than \$15 million into the venture, with the help of Cadillac and Newweek magazine, for building three boats which were made available to the young Texan helmsman John Kallis for winning back the world's oldest trophy that it lost to the Austrellens in 1983. The NYCC entry, America II, was eliminated it finished 15 seconds behind New Zealand on Sunday. Marc Pajot, who skips French Kiss, which with 129 points was fourth in the last of the preliminary eliminating rounds, talked about the racing.

Eleven Frenchmen show they can become a team

Question: The preparation and preliminary races of the America's Cup are said to have changed you into a cold monster. Is this true?

Pajot: I'm living through something that is intensely interesting and all-absorbing, but I haven't changed. We finished the first round robin in eighth place and everybody ticked us off severely without trying to find out why.

We've had no experience in this kind of competition racing and most of our training was done in France with a single boat and no partner to run against. Then, in addition, the first few runs were in light weather, which wasn't suitable for French Kiss. It was far from ideal compared with America II or New Zealand, which got a head start by training with the Australians over the course during the past year.

You had doubts then?

Success in competition is often the result of a balance between doubt and confidence in oneself. Doubt is essential in striving for progress. Our team reappraises itself every morning and its great strength has been its capacity to adapt to the problems that have arisen. After the first round robin we told ourselves there were three boats that couldn't be touched and a fourth place in the semi-finals for another was programmed in advance. I have personally always thought so and today we have improved enormously to come up to the level of the four best. There's only one boat against which we feel powerless — New Zealand. But how long will it remain out of reach?

So French Kiss's qualification is just one stage? It's already a success. At Newport, the Americans used to say: 11

Frenchmen on a 12-metre J1, that's still 11 Frenchmen. Eleven Americans, that's a team. Today, there are men and organisations in France — I think, for example, of the new sailing organisation — to meet the challenge. Qualifying (for the semi-finals) is already a success for all these people, but this is still not our goal. No team here will be satisfied with just qualifying. Our aim is still to win the America's Cup.

Along with the American Dennis Conner and the Australian Ian Murray, you are one of the few skippers to be also manager and helmsman rolled into one. Isn't that presumptuous for a first experience?

To get this venture off the ground in France, a leader was needed in the sailing field to conceive and promote the project. True, we had to work hard on several fronts during two years. But today, everybody has his place in an organisation that is more horizontal than vertical, with units looking after sailing tactics, computer calculations, and finance. From the moment the races started, I have been able to concentrate wholly on the boat and the crew. I shall in due course give my report on this, too, but I believe my organisation has been good.

Were you inspired by men or by principles in accepting this challenge? Like John Bertrand and the Australians in 1983, you would appear to be convinced that from now on victory requires research and innovation.

I hadn't read John Bertrand's book ("And the Kangaroo Dived the Eagle") before I accepted the challenge, but like him I was

convinced that one shouldn't follow, but try to innovate. Besides, moving the America's Cup from Newport to Fremantle called all the technical concepts into question. There was of course a risk of making a mistake in the new options, as the Americans did in the case of the Eagle, which wound up trailing last in the classification in spite of having an Olympic helmsman (Rod Davis) and a boat designed by one of the best architects of 12-metre J1 class vessels (John Valentijn).

People say I'm methodical, but I function just as much by instinct. Especially in choosing my partners. I met Philippe Briand and Philippe Ricquois who encouraged me to get started. The former, a naval architect and an excellent navigator, was passionately interested in the idea of a 12-metre J1 ever since he took part in a Swedish project when he was very young. He agreed to this role, leaving management and navigation up to me. We were perfectly complementary with Philippe Ricquois, who had the job of raising between \$65 million and \$100 million. And then, it was important to meet Serge Cramianski, a man who also like a challenge. He needed boldness and flair to trust us two years ago, when Rule 26 had still not been amended and we weren't sure French Kiss would be able to keep its initial name (Cramianski is the owner of the trade name Kiss which covers an extensive network of franchise shops: keys, shoe repairs and while-you-wait film processing; he is also the developer of a recently marketed cut-rate colour-copying process).

What do you think of the other semi-finalists?

New Zealand has an undeniable edge especially when sailing close-hauled. With their keel made of composite material, the New Zealand team opted for a solution we had considered with the Beneteau yard, but we couldn't take it any further for lack of time and also perhaps financial means. This wasn't the case with the New

Zealanders, who announced an open-ended budget and were more over on their third boat. If we stay at our present level, we could not think of beating them over seven races, but at the moment we're speaking five engineers are working over here. We meet every morning to consider what we could do after the third round robin.

And the Americans, are they also dangerous?

They are the ones with the best potential navigators for this run, especially with their four Olympic gold medalists in the six Olympic series at Los Angeles. The biggest surprise of the round robin was America II's elimination, despite the experience and the enormous organisational machinery of the New York Yacht Club.

Dennis Conner had the fastest boat in the wind up to the second round robin, but since then he has moved forward in light breezes and at healthy speeds. He is ten times

more experienced than us, but we've no inhibitions in taking him on.

The first finned keel was brought to public notice with the Australian success in 1983. Will victory in 1987 go to the first 12-metre J1 built of composite materials?

It's always easy to generalise, even to focus on a technical aspect. It is far more difficult to analyse men and explain the relationship problems and the psychological pressures generated by a competition such as the America's Cup. The Australians had a very good skipper, a very good crew, very good sails, a very good hull and under that a remarkable finned keel. No doubt the New Zealanders and a few others have the same. The great difficulty of the America's Cup is in analysing and moving forward all these parameters while ensuring that not a single one lags behind.

(December 18)



French Kiss at speed.

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WERE He still alive, the members of the ARC would no doubt have co-opted the composer Erik Satie, who said: "I love simplicity in art as I do in cuisine." For simplicity is their rallying cry. But tradition is also important. Christiana Massia's menu sets out her credo in black and white: "We have simply consulted our grandmothers, a few fishermen and some old recipe books."

Not surprisingly, nouvelle cuisine finds little favour in the ARC's eyes. Simone Lemaire calls it "spineless and arty," though she is willing to admit, with her friends, that it has had a positive effect by encouraging chefs to give greater importance to vegetables, and to provide lighter, less indigestible fare, notably through such techniques as steaming.

"But I do wish they'd stop inventing new dishes!" she says. "They've overreached themselves. There was a time when people went especially to Fernand Point's restaurant just to sample his foie gras en broches or Mère Brazier's to enjoy her poulette demi-deuil. It's quite sufficient for one to invent four or five dishes in a lifetime."

"I'm against restaurants that totally change their menus every year. A chef should always have a basic repertoire consisting of dishes he is capable of executing to perfection. That's what customers want — and what makes them come back again and again."

Massia began 20 years ago with only three main courses on her menu. She has since enlarged her palette, but refuses to invent for the sake of inventing. Her grillées de canard au vinaigre da miel (thin slices of duck with honey-flavoured vinegar) have a very nouvelle cuisine air about them, but the recipe is a medieval one.

"Nouvelle cuisine is terribly labour-intensive," she says. "Think of the way vegetables tend to be served, for example in a pyramid of rounds topped by a solitary pea. You have to remember, too, that the whole structure could only have been put together manually. That's already enough to put me off my food. In my restaurant, once

The 18th-century handbook, *Bréviaire des Gastronomes*, contains the following advice: "The woman cook whom you engage should be neither too young nor too old: she should be neither too young nor too old: she should fall asleep; be she too young, her mind will be on other things."

Attitudes to women chefs have certainly changed since then, but not that much — which is why the Association des Restauratrices-Cuisinières (ARC) came into being 11 years ago. Furious at being refused membership of the Société des Cuisiniers simply because they are female, a group of well-known women chefs formed the ARC at the suggestion of Robert Courtine (who writes in *Le Monde* as La Raynère).

The aims of the association are "to defend and promote women's cooking" and to make known French culinary traditions abroad. Although they keep a lower profile in the media than their male colleagues, ARC members are very well known in international gastronomic circles.

In the last 11 years ARC members have succeeded in breaking down many of the sexist barriers that are still in the notoriously misogynist world of catering. But they note "that many hotel and restaurant owners, under a variety of pretexts, are still reluctant to take on

food is cooked it is never touched by human hand."

Marie-Françoise Lachaud admits that nouvelle cuisine chefs make food look decorative on the plate, but wishes the portions were not so pocket-sized: "One shouldn't be forced to order a dessert because one is still hungry."

What, in their opinion, are the other distinguishing marks of woman's cuisine? "It's less aggressive: women prefer to cook at lower temperatures and are less fond of grilling and flaming. They are more interested in spontaneity and naturalness than in aesthetic considerations, more concerned to convince and to please than to bask in their own glory. When a male chef sees customers to the door at the end of a meal," says Lemaire, "he's wondering if

Women who say it's time to get back in the kitchen

By Michel Castaing

women, and that, when they do, they give them mental serving, or cleaning jobs. Some catering schools have ingeniously got round the problem of finding jobs for their graduates: they admit only male pupils.

In a typical case, a male-chauvinist Breton restaurateur agreed to take on as trainees two graduates from a catering school (which admits women) after satisfying himself on paper that they were sufficiently qualified. The two applicants, Dominique X. and Claude Y., duly turned up, but did not have time to unpack their suitcases before being packed off back home by the restaurateur, who had forgotten that "Dominique" and "Claude" are girls' names as well as boys'.

But what exactly is the "cuisine de femme" that the ARC is trying to promote? Has it anything to do with the nouvelle cuisine? To find out, Michel Castaing talked to three active members of the association, Simone Lemaire, its honorary president, and two Paris chefs, Christiana Massia of L'Aquitaine (which specialises in the cuisine of southwest France and has a star in the Michelin Guide) and Marie-Françoise Lachaud of the Breton restaurant Ty Coz.

They think he's a good cook. A woman chef will be seeking herself if they're satisfied and contented."

Women chefs — and especially those celebrated guardians of local culinary traditions, the "mères lyonnaises" — have anured the survival of regional cooking. Lachaud, who gets all her produce direct from Brittany, is the fourth in line of professional woman cooks who banded down their regional recipes from generation to generation. "My great-grandmother used to cater for local high society. In those days, you entertained at home, not in restaurants. She used to do all the cooking for vast numbers of guests."

Massia has a particularly long list of suppliers, and not just in southwest France. She gets her baby monkfish from Brittany, tiny

asparagus from the Vosges, and wild leeks and fairy ring mushrooms from other parts of the country.

"As far as the vegetables I've just mentioned are concerned," she says, "they are things you can't get hold of through normal catering channels. But they enable one to keep alive certain old regional recipes of the kind that are all too often looked down on by men. Most male chefs would feel it beneath their dignity to make, for instance, a farci potevin (a kind of stuffed cabbage)."

The two watchwords of the ARC, simplicity and tradition, do not prevent women cooks from being inventive, even if world-famous chef Paul Bocuse once claimed the he had apparently since changed his mind that woman show "no imagi-

nation in the kitchen".

Christiane Massia does not care, anyway. "I try to appeal to the taste buds and the belly, not to the imagination, with straightforward, rustic, but nevertheless magical words like fricassée, blanquette, matelote, marmite, potée and so on. And something cooked 'au cocotte' is somehow appetising, isn't it?"

Colette once said: "There is no point in taking up cooking unless you are capable of a little witchcraft." But too much verbal incantation can be a bad thing: women chefs seem much more willing than their male counterparts to go for simplicity not only in the kitchen, but in the way they formulate their menus.

Simone Lemaire gave me some examples: "A woman will propose a salad with croutons, a men's little autumn salad with hazelnut oil and toasted country bread." A woman will call a salad of pheasant and lentils by its name, a man will do it up as "lentils sautées with pheasant aiguillettes dressed with vinegared olive oil". Surely most people know what a crouton is — or that a salad contains oil and vinegar? Massia once saw a preposterously named dish which ended with the words: "with toast in a napkin".

At opposite poles to this extreme over-mystification and esoteric approach aimed at awing customers or making them feel important.

"Some menus call store-bought 'cuisine préfabriquée'," says Lachaud. "I've nothing against a bit of humour, though. I once called called a dish 'haddock du Capitaine' (a reference to the Hervé comic-strip character Tintin's friend). But I don't like grand-sounding names unless they are simply designed to explain the ingredients of a dish to customers, so they don't have to ask the waiter. That's a form of dialogue, if you like. But most of the time, pretentious names aim simply to disguise the banality of what is on offer."

Simone Lemaire put the whole problem in a nutshell: "Nowadays a lot of young chefs write out their menus before they've even learnt how to cook."

uniqueness, specificity and freedom.

The committee has set a three-year limit on the moratorium, a period which it hopes will enable researchers to better pinpoint the consequences of genetic research — research involving the removal of micro-particles of cells or embryonic nuclei and the analysis of the genetic characteristics of such cells.

It has also drawn up a list of research areas which it thinks should be banned. They concern particular all research aimed at artificially modifying human genes which are handed down from generation to generation; research aimed at transplanting embryos between man and animal; research towards making male pregnancy possible; and research on parthenogenesis or full in vitro gestation.

Examining the question of female egg preservation, the committee considered the unknown factors involved here are such that they forbid the transplantation of embryos obtained by this technique.

(December 18)

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The Washington Post

Ronald Reagan — A Political Obituary

WHEN President Reagan rededicated the Statue of Liberty in a blaze of light and celebratory fireworks last July 3, he seemed to personify the American nation, which he described that night in Lincoln's words as "hope for the world, future for all time."

In a week of tall ships and remembrances of patriots past, Reagan captured the imagination of a nation accustomed to his heroic turn of phrase and reassuring ways. A romanticized portrait of Reagan appeared on the cover of Time magazine the following week accompanied by a caption that asked, "Why is this man so popular?" The cover story described Reagan as "a Prospero of American memories, a magician who carries a bright, ideal America like a hologram in his mind and projects its image in the air."

All the glitter is gone now, all the magic lost.

"People had this heroic image of Reagan in their minds — a Reagan who quips when he is shot and stands up to the Russians," says a Republican student of the presidency. "Everything about the Iran arms deal seems both un-American and un-Reagan. Dealing with the people who burned our flag. Deceiving the American people. Helping the Ayatollah. It didn't fit with the American image of Reagan. In academic terms it was cognitive dissonance in the extreme."

The betrayal seemed greater because the betrayer was Reagan, who had spent 50 years inculcating himself into the national consciousness as a believable character who was America's best version of itself. Reagan was identified with baseball, football and Hollywood. He was "The Gipper" who gave his life for Notre Dame and country, a governor who stood up to rioting students, a president who restored the nation's patriotic identity and celebrated hemlock.

Then the symbolism threw it all away in an escapade so preposterous in its premises and implications that Hollywood would never have accepted the script. The president who had promised that America would "never again" bow to dictators or yield to terrorism was revealed as doing secret business with the representatives of the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. Suddenly, superimposed on the blaze of light with which Ronald Reagan had illuminated the Statue of Liberty was a remembered image of a burning American flag in Tehran.

Now that Ronald Reagan has been restored to human dimensions, what do we make of his presidency? What lessons does the man who only a few months ago seemed to have discovered a new way of governing still have to teach us? Most important, what lessons can we learn from Reagan's fall? Was he a victim of an out-of-control NSC staff? Has he suffered from bad political advice and the wrong chief of staff? Is age simply catching up with him and dulling his once-sharp political judgment? Or has this most favored of presidents simply been suffering recently from a run of bad luck?

Before his presidency was overwhelmed by the Iran arms scandal and its offshoots, Reagan appeared to have discovered a secret of leadership that had eluded his White House predecessors. Three

out of four Americans approved of the job they thought Reagan was doing as president, and even some of his harshest policy critics extolled his style. After Reagan was reelected in a 49-state landslide in 1984, House Speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill said to him, "In my 50 years of public life, I've never seen a man more popular than you are with the American people."

The popularity seemed unassailable and Reagan exempt from the laws of political gravity. Reagan periodically misstated facts at news conferences, forgot the names of trusted aides and Cabinet officers and explained some of his most cherished policies in private meetings by reading off 3-by-5 cards. Nothing seemed to touch him, an observation codified in the phrase "Teflon president," which described the Reagan phenomenon without explaining it.

Politicians and journalists alike were frustrated by the love affair between Reagan and the American people. They asked one another how a president who knew so little could be valued so highly. Calumnist Edwin M. Yoder Jr. expressed the feelings of many of his peers when he confessed early in 1984 that it was "a mystery" to him how "this nice, euphoric, uneducated, rather dogmatic gentleman should now be a huge success in the presidency."

Reagan's knowledge of foreign affairs was particularly sketchy, as Reagan's longtime California advisers recognized. When one of these advisers, William F. Clark, became national security adviser in 1982, he demonstrated his understanding of Reagan's learning habits by showing him government movies about world trouble spots.

Reagan also watched movies during his weekends at Camp David and learned from them, after a fashion. In 1983, he amused and encouraged a group of pro-army congressional men who met with him at the White House by interpreting a serious discussion with praise for "War Games," an anti-war film about how a high school computer wizard taps into a national-defense computer system and nearly triggers a nuclear war.

No one seemed to care that Reagan knew so little. The Jimmy Carter crowd, still seeking to blame the rejection of their leader on something other than Carter, contended that the media had gone soft on Reagan. But as the list of Reagan's published inanities grew, so did his standing in the polls. Surveys taken for the White House found that many Americans agreed that Reagan was ill-informed, but disagreed with a number of his policies, but nonetheless approved of the job he was doing as president.

Americans were forgiving of Reagan's perceived shortcomings because his policies seemed to work. Inflation had slowed dramatically, and for most Americans, times were relatively good. No Americans were involved in a shooting war. Most of all, Americans desperately wanted — as Tip O'Neill had pointed out soon after Reagan's election — a president who would succeed, after a recent history of assassination, resignation and failure.

Even when Reagan committed gaffes of international proportions, he seemed immune from account-

ability. On Aug. 11, 1984, while doing a sound check for his weekly radio speech from a makeshift studio at his California ranch, Reagan said, "My fellow Americans, I am pleased to tell you I have signed legislation to outlaw Russia forever. We begin bombing in five minutes." Soviet commentators used the incident to portray Reagan as a warmonger, and Democrats cited it as an example of his irresponsibility. Reagan brushed off what might have been a monumental embarrassment for any other president by saying that the media should never have reported it.

Six weeks after this incident, Washington Post national political correspondent David S. Broder was interviewing prospective voters in the 1984 political campaign in Detroit. Among those he interviewed was a 25-year-old man who believed that Reagan "eases with the special interests" while his opponent, Walter F. Mondale, "eases with the average citizen." The young man's companion, a 23-year-old Michigan State University student, agreed and said she also believed that Mondale was "more likely to keep the United

By Lou Cannon

States out of war." The surprise part of the interview was that both of these young Americans were voting for Reagan.

Millions of traditionally Democratic working people and young people also deserted their party to vote for Reagan, after a campaign that was a triumph of symbolism. Reagan avoided the press, staggered through two debates with Mondale and raised new issues. While Mondale talked about raising taxes, Reagan wrapped himself in the flag and encouraged voters to identify him with America.

The identification seemed natural enough to those who heard the president's soaring, empty, symbolic speeches. "We want to talk about the present and the future, about what Americans are doing together, and what we must continue to do to make America great again and last the eagle soar," Reagan said in one of his opening campaign speeches on Sept. 3, 1984.

Americans accepted the "bright, ideal America" that Reagan carried in his mind to part because he shared with them the credit for achieving it. Reagan had a wonderful trick of taking what people assumed to be his own strength and attributing them to his audience. "We've come a long way since these days of malaise," he would say, giving his audience credit for the tax cuts and military spending increases that were the principal legislative products of the Reagan years. The president rarely mentioned the \$2 trillion deficit that was a byproduct of these achievements.

In person Reagan was modest, gentle, unassuming. "Unlike a number of his predecessors who... craved the presidency in order to be something, Reagan ran for president in order to do something," wrote columnist Mark Shields. "His sense of self-worth does not hinge on his riding on Air Force One."

Nor did Reagan take for granted the unusual bond he had forged with Americans during five decades of acting, broadcasting and campaigning. He seemed to understand the secret of his strength. On the eve of the 1980 election, when a reporter asked what it was that Americans saw in him, Reagan replied, "Would you laugh if I told you that I think, maybe, they see themselves and that I'm one of them? I've never been able to detach myself or think that I, somehow, am apart from them."

Presidential historian Richard Neustadt believes that it was the combination of Reagan's reassuring qualities and ability to strike the right note in ceremonial speeches that made him appealing to Americans. "I think we underestimate how much Americans want their president to be presidential," says Neustadt. "People are still hungry for a king. ... It wasn't the legislative achievements of the first New Deal that established Roosevelt, it was the psychological turnround. And Reagan is very Rooseveltian in this sense."

But Neustadt also realizes, unlike Reagan, that there is no magic secret to governing. While he believes that Reagan's first-term political team would have saved him from the Iran scandal, Neustadt also says, "I always knew there was a price to pay for his style of management. ... I just didn't know what it was."

Because Reagan understood symbolic realities so well, it seems surprising that he miscalculated the impact of the secret arms deal on American public opinion. But there are those who believe that the symbolic collapse was the inevitable result of growing policy gridlock and Reagan's frustration at his lack of success in freeing American hostages held by groups he had described as "terrorists."

In addition, a number of administration officials believe that Reagan's revolving door of national security advisers — now up to five in less than six years — and an NSC staff weakened by ideology and infighting was a disaster waiting to happen.

In the political community, the conventional wisdom is that Reagan's fall flowed inevitably from the substitution of businessman Donald T. Regan for politician James A. Baker III as White House chief of staff. Richard Darman, widely considered Reagan's brightest policy adviser, left for Treasury with Baker. Five months later, in May 1985, Reagan's friend and longtime public relations specialist Michael K. Deaver left the White House staff and Regan was left without a seasoned political adviser at close hand.

"There has always been this lightness, charm, action quality about Reagan," says a longtime adviser. "He played a role and muted on others for the political expertise he, in Hollywood, he had counted on others for direction. His role was to sell his programs. After Baker and Deaver left, the president was surrounded by business men and military men who were used to giving orders and having others follow them. They didn't give orders to the commander in chief, but they did prevent others from advising him."

Others say — usually in whole-pierced voices — that Reagan is slipping. At 75, he tires more easily and asks even fewer ques-

tions of aides than he did three or four years ago. His hearing has declined. He still gets himself up for the big ceremonial performances, as he did on Liberty Weekend, but he is said to be increasingly preoccupied and under strain. "He always enjoyed being president," says a friend. "I don't think he finds it fun anymore."

A case also can be made that the Reagan administration was out of gear even before the arms deal was disclosed. Selling arms to the Ayatollah was a symbolic disaster, but there no diplomat within the administration who believe that Reagan's confused summit with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in Reykjavik, Iceland, was a greater policy failure. In a confused discussion with Gorbachev which he has since summarized in conflicting ways, Reagan almost casually proposed the elimination of all ballistic nuclear missiles — undercutting U.S. allies in Britain and West Germany. The Thatcher government may yet be a casualty of Reagan's excursion into unprepared summit with Gorbachev — something that Reagan had promised he would never do.

"Reagan got away with Reykjavik in the sense that he was able to present it to the American people as a success," says an administration official. "For the president it was consistent symbolism, even if dubious policy. What could have more American than saying, 'Let's settle our differences by talking... by ridding the world of these terrible weapons.'"

Even without the Iran contra scandal, however, there is concern within the administration and among U.S. allies that Reykjavik may have been the end of Reagan's arms control efforts, rather than a beginning.

On domestic issues, except for the possibility of enacting a program of catastrophic health insurance, there is even less optimism within the administration. A recent list of tepid initiatives compiled by Regan and announced by the president devotes a single line to deficit reduction. Such yawners as budget reform, world climate control and a North American patent office are other items on the burners these days of what used to be called "the Reagan revolution."

That "revolution" ended on Election Day 1986 when Republicans lost the Senate after Reagan's personal campaigning failed to save weak GOP candidates in a number of key western and southern states. It was an event said to have shocked First Lady Nancy Reagan, who had been told that her husband's strenuous campaigning could save the Senate for his party.

On that same day, Nov. 3, the first revelations appeared in American newspapers of the secret visit in Iran of former national security adviser Robert C. McFarlane and Lt. Col. Oliver L. North. It was the first of many disclosures that signified the dark symbolic end of a Reagan presidency that less than six months ago was basking in the glow of Lady Liberty's light.

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The Reagan Presidency Is Disintegrating

THE ARGUMENT about whether the Iranian affair is comparable to Watergate is at best a diversion and at worst a trap. It is a trap because the analogy is false and may even induce a kind of complacency since it would suggest that the current troubles of the administration are in a relatively early stage — the equivalent, say, of March 21, 1973 — and that there is much time for the thing yet to play out. But there isn't time. The most interesting — and distinctive and alarming — fact about this crisis is that it has reached so advanced a state so quickly.

It is hard to remember a time, except for the very last days of the Nixon presidency, when the uppermost reaches of a government were in such disarray. Yet, we know: "disarray" is one of those newspaper words, used often enough to disparage a situation that we in the press helped to create. But that is not the case here. The word is apt. The president and the vice president, the White House chief of staff and other staff members, the affected Cabinet members and presidential counselors and intimates seem not to represent any kind of a whole at all, any entity, any "we" (as in, "this is what we have to do now"). They evidently do not share the same interpretation, or in some critical cases even similar interpretations, of what happened, of whether it was right or wrong, of what should come next. There is much high-level knife work. There is much debilitating anxiety and uncertainty. Life rafts are being readied.

Leaving aside for the moment his own ultimate responsibility for what goes on in his administration, the president has been badly served from the first in all this. He has been sent out to speak with factually false material, provided him by briefers who evidently were so busy trying to make their own case to him that they didn't have time to worry about the case he was going to make to the public. He has been given rotten advice, and he has been cynically encouraged in his impulse to believe the thing is overblown and will go away. His advisers have not been brave or unparaphrased or skeptical enough. The president has been defending them — defending some of the people who have done him the most harm. They should have been defending him.

The people we are referring to here are not those currently being called "disloyal" by some at the White House. It is one of the ironies of this whole awful drama that an argument is being over loyalty to the president, but that the very concept of loyalty and its obligations has been inverted so that those who are trying merely to ingratiate themselves with the president are said to be loyal, while those who believe the error of the policy must be acknowledged and repaired are castigated as disloyal. The ones who got him in this trouble, who exceeded their instructions, who used idiotic judgment, who now refuse to talk and/or refuse to leave are the "loyal" ones under this construction. The ones who dare to say so are renegades.

Two things are desperately needed. One is as full an account as can possibly be produced of this affair, from start to finish. The other is the restoration of the president's political authority, within his government and in relation to the country and the world. Only he can manage this. It will begin with credible evidence that he understands the magnitude of the error and that he intends to rectify it. He needs to be seen taking charge of his government. He needs a White House chief of staff who does not have a personal interest that is at odds with his own. He needs to work with such a person to establish some degree of common purpose and mutual respect within the top ranks of his government. It is lacking now.

Ronald Reagan's government is coming apart, and he is the only one who can put it back together. Blaming the press, the political opposition, the people in government who had the wit to oppose the disastrous course will not do him any good. If he wants to take it out on them he should save the pleasure for later. Right now he has more urgent things to do.

Richard Cohen

ON APRIL 14, U.S. warplanes bombed Libya, killed 37 persons, among them a 16-month-old girl named Hana, reportedly Moammar Gadhafi's adopted daughter. The attack was in reprisal for the bombing days earlier of a West German discotheque frequented by U.S. servicemen. One was killed.

Following the disco bombing, Bob Woodward of the Washington Post reported what the President had alluded to: The United States had intercepted messages from the Libyan Embassy in East Germany telling Libyan authorities that they "will be very happy when you see the headlines tomorrow." Casa closed.

But is it? At the time, President Reagan seemed to paralyze the American rage at Gadhafi. The Libyan leader had exulted in the deaths of innocents in massacres at the Ronia and Vienna airports and had reportedly financed several terrorist operations. The administration's case seemed convincing and its reprisal, really an act of war, seemed above moral reproach. Few quibbled when the President called Gadhafi the "mad dog of the Middle East."

Since the spring, though, much has changed. Libya, no matter

what its sins, seems almost inconsequential compared to the real thugs of the Middle East. In two separate trials — one in London, the other in West Berlin — Syria was implicated in two terrorist incidents. The first was the attempt to place a bomb on an El Al plane heading to Israel by way of London. The second was the bombing of the German-Arab Friendship Society in Berlin that injured 14 persons. No mention of Libya was made at either trial.

The American people now know, also, that some of the case against Libya consisted of "disinformation" leaked by the administration and unwittingly published by the press. We know, too, that it was not Libya that controlled the fate of American hostages in Lebanon, but Iran. We were also told in a report by the Miami Herald, that U.S. officials held Iran responsible for the bombing of both the Marine barracks and the U.S. Embassy in Beirut. In both incidents, the loss of life was horrendous.

Cynicism is the rust of democracy. One of the truly awful implications of the current Iran/contras scandal is that we can not believe our own government. The list of lies — and they are that — is getting longer and longer, and it forebodes among them was the repeated declaration that the United States would never pay ransom for hostages. We did just that and did it repeatedly.

Another lie was that if the administration has weakened the fibre of the very democracy it was trying to protect.

United States possessed hard information that other countries were engaged in terrorism; they would get a dose of what Libya got. "We have made it plain that if we have the same kind of irrefutable evidence with regard to other countries they'll be subject to the same treatment," the President said on May 7. The information linking Iran to the kidnappers of American hostages was so irrefutable that we traded arms for their release.

When it comes to information — irrefutable or otherwise — I have none to contradict what the President said following the bombing of Libya. But as one who approved of that raid, I have the sinking

HONG KONG — The British Empire has buried one of its last chivalries in a classically imperial way, far from home, to the beat of muffled drums and the sound of dirges.

Sir Edward Youde, GCMG, GCVO, MBE, the kindly, self-effacing Welshman who until his sudden death in Peking had enjoyed the title of His Excellency the 28th Governor of the Crown Colony of Hong Kong, was born up the nave of the Cathedral Church of St. John hers by 10 soldiers from the Coldstream Guards.

No matter that the old church to which he had been taken is now all but hidden among the gleaming skyscrapers of the new Hong Kong; at the funeral, all the old and venerable props of empire were on show, perhaps for the very last time. There were judges in their scarlet robes, there were soldiers and sailors with plumes and sashes and swords, there were medals and decorations and anthems and slow-marches and two 17-gun salutes.

"We British do these things so well," someone said from the pew behind.

"Perhaps funerals are all we're any good at," her companion glumly replied.

Hong Kong has reason enough to feel grim these days, and not only because 6 million subjects have suddenly lost their British governor. For one thing, the superstitious, and those who follow the Chinese geomancy known as feng shui, are making much of the circumstances of Sir Edward's passing.

He was the first governor ever to die in office. He died up in Peking, which many still think of as the enemy capital. He died while he was on Hong Kong business — indeed, it looks as though he died from the very rigors of that business. And he died on the unpropitious fourth of the month — the Cantonese sound for the number four being homophonic with the Cantonese word for death. Very bad feng shui, the magic man say, with consequent ill luck to come.

But the governor's passing and the potency of the astrological consequences of his having done so are not the only causes of the present peculiar colonial distem-

per. Even when the black crepe has gone and the union flag is back at full staff over Government House, perhaps even when a new governor has taken over — even then the colony looks likely to continue to suffer this curiously rudderless, oddly abandoned feeling.

No one can pinpoint exactly when it started. It has been growing, old hands say, during this past year, ever since Margaret Thatcher went to Peking and signed the colony away, agreeing to hand it back, as had been promised, to the communist Chinese. There are just 10 more British years left, and everyone here is counting.

It is unfashionable, and unwise, to be publicly pessimistic. On the surface, all looks well. "Never been better, old boy," they'll tell you in a dozen board rooms. Most com-

By Simon Winchester
Special to
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pany profits are nicely up. Property prices are healthy. The dietheques are full, the Beaujolais nouveau is in the shops, the Rolls-Royce distributors are about to sell their 700th car (there are only 14 rickshaws). On the surface, Hong Kong is very much the Georgetown of South China, the epicenter of upward mobility in a very upwardly mobile region.

But privately, and beneath the surface, it is not difficult to confront the malaise.

People talk more openly now about leaving, going off to get new passports, getting their money out to safer lands. The lines at the American and Canadian and Australian consulates are depressingly long. Fiji and Belize have their passports on offer, for a small sum in folding money. People are not wondering whether they should go, but when, and which is the year when it's all going to go wrong.

An Indian friend, a multi-millionaire, explained the other day how he was selling one of his properties and putting the cash into short-term investment, "and then taking everything out by 1992." The head of one of the larger financial institutions here said most of his money was already

in Switzerland, or in diamonds ready to go.

There is a very distinct feeling here that we are all standing on a bridge that may be about to collapse. No one wants to start a stampede, because then it very definitely will collapse. No one wants to be seen to be trying to get off, because that would start a stampede. So people are sitting off quietly, edging away, and hoping that no one will notice them.

Sometimes the signs are more obvious than this. A survey of investors' likely confidence 10 years from now — though how they tell? Skeptics aid with some places Hong Kong somewhere near the bottom of the list. Another foreign bank moved its operations out of the colony week before last. One of the British firms that helped found the place reorganized itself, and, by dint of some adroit accountancy, took some of itself to the more evidently stable — and still British — climes of Bermuda. And now there's one even older whisper.

Some of the Shanghaiese here — and it is well to remember that many of the really smart business men in Hong Kong are refugees from Shanghai — also say they are considering leaving Hong Kong not to go to San Francisco or Sydney, but to return to Shanghai. They say that with China changing so fast, a rich man can easily manipulate the system to his own advantage, and stay rich. If that's true, they say to themselves, then why not go home?

I was in Shanghai recently, and confess I did not manage to find a refuge from down south. But other colleagues here say they are there, and that others are reading themselves to come.

It would be idle and profitless to suggest that Hong Kong is falling apart, isn't it — for from it. But it would be equally idle to deny that there is a strange smell about the place, an uneasiness. The feeling has been compounded, no doubt, by Sir Edward's funeral, and by the sad rituals of farewell.

For the colonials here know that Britain itself will be saying farewell soon, and some of the more glum types realize that the ceremony up at St. John's Cathedral, magnificent as it was melancholy, was only an unexpected practice run for the final goodbye 10 years from now.

A Funeral In Hong Kong

THE GUARDIAN, December 26, 1982

Goya: Mystery And Mastery

By Paul Richard

HIS eyes are black, his face is round, his body is compact. Polished silver twinkles on the table by his easel. Goya, who was humbly born but changed his name to hide the fact, loved golden coins and jewels, all the shiny signs of wealth. His confessional self-portrait shows an artist on the make.

Two hundred years ago, just before he painted it, he sent a note of triumph to a loyal childhood friend. "Mortin' m'o," crowed the artist, "ya soy Pintor del Rey con quince mil reales!" ("Martin boy, now I'm King's Painter with a yearly salary of 15,000 reales!")

These are Goya days in Washington. "Goya" — Gian Carlo Menotti's opera — received its world premiere at the Kennedy Center, and to celebrate its opening two Washington museums, the Corcoran and National Galleries, have mounted Goya shows.

The master was still climbing when he painted the self-portrait now on exhibition at the National Gallery of Art. His cockiness is clear. His *machismo* is apparent. He wears the short embroidered jacket, the elippers and the tights, of a Spanish *majo*, a sort of 18th-century urban cowboy. It is the sort of costume strutting bullfighters still wear — except for the odd hat.

He had it made of metal so that it would not burn when, painting after sunset, he set candles on his lamp.

Francisco de Goya y Lucientes (the *de*, an affectation, implied ties to the nobility that were tenuous at best) was born a glider's son, on March 30, 1746 in Aragon, in Spain. He died an exile in France in 1828. He was two artists in one.

While the public Goya pointed gracious, formal portraits of the highborn and the rich, another sort of master was developing within him. This second, private Goya cared nothing for the brilliant chatter of the court. Instead he hewed his visions out of silence and the dark. No pointer of his era was as attuned as he was to the shivering shadows, the witches and the truths and the horrors of the night.

"Goya: Selected Prints From the Collection of the Arthur Ross Foundation," a show of more than 60 lithographs and etchings, is at the Corcoran Gallery of Art. "Goya: The Condessa de Chinchón and Other Paintings, Drawings and Prints From Spanish and American Private Collections and the National Gallery of Art" is at the gallery's West Building. Together these exhibits, they rarely overlap, suggest the strange range of his art.



Senora Sahana Garcia



Goya's self-portrait

on view at the Corcoran, is called "The sleep of reason produces monsters." Yet monsters of all sorts — men that have two heads, cultures large as oxen, demons, devils, giants — write in Goya's art.

The sweep of his emotions still takes the breath away. It is not just the bristkness of his brush and the assurance of his line that make his late work seem so modern. It is his ability to show us all the fighting feelings in his conflicted heart.

Scholar Andrew Robison chose the splendid drawings in the National Gallery's exhibit. Together they suggest that Goya somehow eked the 19th century. His early formal portraits are 18th-century pictures. His last works speak directly to the 20th-century soul.

Goya, like Velazquez, was a portraitist to royalty. Goya, like Picasso, another black-eyed master who liked to paint at night, was passionate, political, confessional, rebellious. All three of these great painters were Spanish to the core. Yet Goya was, at first, enormously attracted to the French.

He admired French enlightenment, French scholarship and liberty, the France of revolution, fraternity, equality, Voltaire and Rousseau. His native Spain, in contrast, seemed superstitious, backward, priest-ridden and slothful.

Goya also liked French elegance. One sees that in his early work. The marquesa de Pontejos, in the National Gallery's large portrait of 1786, wears Parisian ribbons on her dress. In their disdainful anticlericalism, in their haughty superciliousness, the gibes in the *Caprichos* also feel part French.

Goya, though he worked at court, was no impassioned monarchist. In his portraits, of the Notional Gallery of the king and queen of Spain, King Charles IV looks pompous, Queen Maria Louisa ugly. You would think that he would flatter the royals who employed him. In fact, both of them look stupid. One can only wonder how Goya got away with it.

One, viewing at the National Gallery, San Woodson's collection, is the first to see Goya made in which human beings wear masks. He always looked beyond the faces people wear.

He would not hide his sympathies. When he painted those bo cards for — among

them the unfortunate and lovely condessa Chinchón — he did so with great politeness. (He painted her as a child first. Later, Manuel Godoy, the prime minister of Spain — and the lover of the queen — whom the young condessa was forced to wed again, her will. Both pictures are included in the National Gallery's exhibit.) When he portrayed those he hated — for instance the duke of San Carlos, with his drooping eyes and half-open mouth — he would not conceal his scorn.

It is Goya's awesome honesty, his insatiable tenacity that the truth be told, that gives his scenes of warfare their extraordinary timelessness.

Although he depicted torturings and rapes, massacres, dismemberments, famines and garrotings and stomach-churning scenes of corpses spitted upon trunks, he looked beyond the uniform. Napoleon's soldiers in his pictures, even when they rape and kill, are never shown as monstrous. Continued overleaf



One of the "Caprichos"

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Under The Jolly Roger

By George MacDonald Fraser

CAPTAIN KIDD And the War Against the Pirates. By Robert C. Ritchie. Harvard University Press. 306pp. \$20.

CAPTAIN KIDD was not much of a pirate; indeed, we have his own word for it that he was not a pirate at all, and if we are not more likely to believe him than the jury were, we can still feel some sympathy for him. He may have been, in the dour phrase of his native Scotland, none the worse of a hanging, but he was a desperately unlucky man. Chances, rather than his crimes, has placed his name first on the long black list of sea-robbers; alliteration may have had something to do with it, too, but the real reason for his enduring notoriety is that he was the scapegoat of circumstance, the right victim at the right time.

Like many another rascal, he was a clerk's son, and went to sea in the high noon of buccaneering, when pillage and patriotism went hand in hand and the British, who have always been pirates at heart, were still honoring their great filibuster. The arch-pirate Drake had been knighted a century earlier; in Kidd's young manhood there occurred a sea-battle on Harry Morgan, whose Coast Brotherhood had savaged Spain in the Caribbean and, incidentally, served the cause of British expansion. And then, quite quickly, the picture changed: with Spain reduced, King William on the British throne, France again the chief rival, and the European powers competing ever more strongly in maritime trade, the buccaneers and privateers who had been so useful became something of an embarrassment. What was wanted now was peace and quiet in which commerce could flourish. In the new emerging political and economic order, piracy could have no place.

The pirates, who looked on expanding commerce from a different angle, naturally disagreed, none more so than the British in North America, where New York had done rather well out of sea-robbery. When the Caribbean ceased to be a happy hunting-ground, and the pirates began to shift their operations to Far Eastern waters, New York maintained strong links with the new robbers' root in Madagascar, so convenient for plundering the rich cargoes of the Indian Ocean. And it was in New York that William Kidd, ex-privateer, emerged from obscurity with a splendid idea — which he later claimed was someone else's. At this distance, through the web of intrigue that was spun around the project, not everything is clear, but roughly what happened was that Kidd and his associates induced (or were induced by) prominent noblemen of the Whig government in London to join in a venture to plunder pirates of the Indian Ocean. It was all legal (well, more or less) and Kidd certainly had a commission; the rewards were potentially enormous. So were the dangers, the principal one being that his targets were not merchantmen but the most dangerous ruffians then afloat.

In the event, Kidd, after a disappointing cruise, found himself with a mutinous crew on his hands (the once had to barricade himself in his cabin), and with investors to satisfy he turned pirate proper, his chief victim being an Indian ergo, the Quedah Merchant. It was Kidd's bad luck that not long before a vastly rich prize, the Mogul treasure ship, had been seized by the notorious Long Ben Avery; the uproar following these outrages was nowhere louder than in this British East India Company, whose trade relations with the Orient were jeopardized by such precious commodities by their fellow-countrymen.

Avery had got away with it; Kidd did not. At another time he might have made his peace at home, but the war against piracy was being stepped up, and his noble Whig backers were under mounting political attack from the Tories (and the East India Company) who seized eagerly on Kidd as a weapon in their campaign. Questions were asked in the House, a fine scandal seemed in prospect — it is not surprising that Kidd found himself abandoned. Arrested in Boston, he was shipped to England; when he came to trial, evidence on his behalf mysteriously disappeared, and his attempt to shift the blame on to his mutinous crew was unconvincing. In fact, he was guilty, not only of piracy but of killing his gunner, one Moore, whom he had hit on the head

with a buckst during an altercation which Kidd claimed was mutinous. On both counts he was condemned, but his greatest offense seems to have been that he was dangerously inconvenient. So he was railroaded to Execution Dock, and into legend, protesting that "I am the innocentest person of them all, only I have been sworn against by perjured persons." When they hanged him the rope broke, and they had to hang him over again; nothing went right for poor Kidd.

Professor Ritchie has done two valuable things. By exhaustive research — his footnoted authorities occupy more than 50 pages out of 300 in this book — he has built up the most detailed record I have ever seen of a pirate voyage, with its origins and aftermath; I doubt if there is another like it. He has also placed it in its historic context, describing the political, and especially the economic events that shaped piracy in its age of transition; buccaneering tends to be thought of as a gaudy, romantic, isolated phenomenon, political only in its occasional association with national interest (as it was in the crippling of Spanish power), and it is good to be reminded that piracy, like everything else, was subject to market forces. Professor Ritchie puts it in a fresh light; something new (to me, at least) is his demonstration of what a casual, accepted thing it was in the brief interval between

the end of semi-legitimate buccaneering, and the era of the professional sea criminals for respectable men to go a-roving leaving their everyday occupations to join a piratical venture, make their money, and then home again to wife and family. It is very much in the Anglo-American tradition, after all.

As a study of piracy, and the motives and forces behind it, *Captain Kidd* is a first-rate book and I hope he does more the same. His scholarship is sound; only once, on a tiny point, did he stop me short, with the observation that "The English government wanted to monopolize violence and refused to tolerate threats to law and order. Even the Highland Scots, long considered a reservoir of rebellion, were crushed after their uprising in 1745." The first sentence is true of every government, and the suppression of the clans was not because they were a threat to law and order, but because they were the cutting edge of the Stuart against the Hanoverians. But that is a small point, and nothing to do with piracy, a subject on which Professor Ritchie is beyond challenge.

George MacDonald Fraser is the author of the *Floshman* novels and *The Pyrates*, a buccaneering extravaganza soon to be screened by BBC Television.

On A Mission To Camelot

By Joanne Omang

COME AS YOU ARE. THE PEACE CORPS STORY. By Coates Redmon. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 416pp. \$22.95.

MAKING A DIFFERENCE. THE PEACE CORPS AT TWENTY-FIVE. Edited by Milton Viorst. Weidenfeld & Nicolson. 218 pp. \$16.95.

TWENTY-FIVE years ago the first Peace Corps volunteers left President John F. Kennedy's Rose Garden for two years in Ghana. Rushed abroad for propaganda purposes even before Congress enacted the new agency into law, the 50 young college graduates were understandably anxious about being The First Volunteers.

They spent their 21-hour plane trip (it was 1961) practicing the Ghanaian national anthem and the national dance called the "highlife." It paid off. Two of them subsequently won second prize in the nightclub dance contest in Accra.

That was the first return on the oddball notion that ordinary young Americans might do something other than make fools of themselves if sent overseas as cheap labor to help other nations' development projects. That the Peace Corps became a legend of self-sacrifice and youthful good works is still rather a mystery to the 120,000 Americans who followed the O'Hare 1 group abroad to 82 other nations. Only they know

how much end/or little was really accomplished, how the physical difficulties were the least of the problems, and how vastly much more they gained than they gave.

A growing literature on the Peace Corps is finally exploring those points, and thousands of returned Peace Corps volunteers gathered in Washington in September to observe the enabling legislation's silver anniversary and to talk about what, if anything, the Peace Corps means to them and to the nation right now.

It is a portentous milestone for what even some of the participants saw as a kind of idealistic lark for overprivileged kids, a program that many Americans vaguely think died with JFK. In some ways, as two new books make clear, the Peace Corps has remained stuck in the early 1960s.

Come As You Are: The Peace Corps Story, by Coates Redmon, is a delicious yarn and probably the definitive inside scoop of how the Peace Corps got going. The birth of the legend that sustains the agency to this day is less meticulously detailed than it was in Gerard Rice's fine study, *The Bold Experiment* published last year, but Redmon's account is much funnier and easier to digest.

She describes the early Peace Corps as a Rubie Goldberg operation born of a "joyful, intellectually wanton, self-induced misinterpretation" and held together by sheer faith and the manic personal energy of R. Sergeant Silver.

The agency was not Kennedy's idea, but that of Hubert H. Humphrey and General James M. Gavin. And, Redmon goes on, the idea itself was transformed by the accident of University of Michigan students hearing what they wanted to hear — "an invitation to join something exciting, new, and hopeful," whereas Kennedy had issued a more general challenge to service during a 2 a.m. campaign appearance in Ann Arbor during October 1960. Lyndon B. Johnson then gave the Peace Corps notion a crucial push chiefly to irritate the Irish mafia around JFK, who thought the idea awful. Once approved, it barely escaped being swallowed into the Agency for International Development, and then tottered into action under a crew of wicker-cracking dreamers Shriver assembled in three frantic weeks in March 1961. The media image, painted by Shriver and spread uncritically to an eager press, soared free of any reality whatever.

Redmon quotes dozens of admiring victims of the Shriver treatment from that period. Donovan McClure, Shriver's public information officer, recalls that Shriver had a "buzz bomb" intercom system that summoned underlings with "the most revolting sound on earth," a noise elsewhere described as "a really terrifying death gurgle combined with a scream from the attic."

Outside the office, Shriver abandoned his terrified underlings to ossearly grout (as though he were campaigning for office) a lone Masai warrior in Tanganyika. He petted a courtyard lion in Ethiopia and then isolated everyone else to like him.

"We were arrogant in a funny kind of way," summed up Bill Haddad, a journalist, who became Shriver's right hand for several years. "We were guys of the forties who thought there was nothing we, or America, couldn't do."

That attitude was pivotal to the Peace Corps' ethic. Redmon's account ends with Shriver's departure, and things have not been as exciting at the Peace Corps since, as another book timed for the silver anniversary makes clear.

Making a Difference, subtitled *The Peace Corps at 25*, edited by Milton Viorst, is an intermittently useful pastiche of essays on the past, present and future of the agency by those who were and are there at every level. A rather pious tone set by President Reagan's introduction and some of the initial essays is, fortunately, not sustained in the lively and evocative first-hand accounts and reminiscences, but no real organizing principle is evident in their arrangement.

AID administrator M. Peter McPherson, himself a former volunteer, argues that it is time to redefine the Peace Corps firmly as a development tool, and others make similar thought-provoking — if conflicting — suggestions.

Joanne Omang, a foreign policy reporter for *The Washington Post*, was a Peace Corps volunteer in Turkey from 1964 to 1966.

Of partridges and pear trees

I WONDER whether I am unique in having once seen a partridge in a pear-tree! It happened at home on the farm when I was a boy. The partridge, once a fan-trained but long neglected and now stretching out yawning arms in all directions, grew over our dairy.

One day a gusty wind caught by surprise a covey of partridges over a neighbouring meadow and hurled them across the farmyard. Never was there a more bewildered bird than the one which tangled with the pear-tree branches. It set there for a full two minutes, giving us time to digest the phenomenon and remember it for all these years.

"On the first day of Christmas my true-love sent to me

A partridge in a pear-tree . . .
"And what," asks a Canadian reader, "does it all mean?"

Not much.
A pedantic attempt to make sense of the partridge in the pear-tree suggests that the pear-tree

Christmas parties. *The Dilly Song*. It lends itself to the same sort of treatment, being sung with great gusto at an ever-increasing rhythm and concluding with a wholesale collection of forfeits. As with *The Twelve Days of Christmas*, there are twelve lines, which are even more difficult to remember.

The version I know best starts with the line "Green grow the rushes-O", which is also a kind of chorus. Then come the Twelve cryptic lines, thus:

1. "One is One and all alone and evermore shall be so."
2. "Two-two, the Lilywhite Boys, clothed all in green-O."
3. "Three-three, the Riveles."
4. "Four for the Gospel Makers."
5. "Five for the Symbol at your Door."
6. "Six for the Six Proud Walkers."
7. "Seven for the Seven Stars in the Sky."
8. "Eight for the April Rainers."

By Ralph Whitlock

was the medieval Roman Catholic Church and the partridge a heretical sect finally ensnared, but that sounds a bit far-fetched. No, this song, *The Twelve Days of Christmas*, was originally a forfeit song, and the less sense it made the better the chance of compelling a singer to pay a forfeit, which is what he had to do if he failed to remember any of the lines.

The gifts that the true-love brought were —
Two turtle-doves on the second day;
Three French hens on the third day;
Four calling birds on the fourth day;
Five gold rings on the fifth day;
Six geese a-laying on the sixth day;
Seven swans o-swimming on the seventh day;
Eight maids a-milking on the eighth day;
Nine ladies dancing on the ninth day;
Ten lords a-leaping on the tenth day;
Eleven pipers piping on the eleventh day;
Twelve drummers drumming on the twelfth day.

The only logical sequence that can be detected as a help to the memory is that the first seven presents are birds, the first five people. The anomaly of the "five gold rings" is explained by the fact that early versions refer to "gold spinks", an old name for gold-finchess. The general opinion is that the "calling birds", or "colley birds" according to some texts, are blackbirds.

The song is thought to have originated in France in the 12th century and to have been sung by travelling troubadours, to the music of a lute. It was known in England in the 13th century and has been popular ever since, though it properly belongs to the twelve days after Christmas, not to the run-up to the festival. It is forfeit to be paid, it is generally possible to trip up the most resistant participants by requiring him to sing the song to speeded-up music, backwards.

Incidentally, the song has crossed the Atlantic, where native fauna have been substituted for the obscure European examples. Thus my Canadian correspondent may find himself singing about "dear o-running, wolves a-hunting, turkeys gobbling" and so on.

Far more serious and obscure is that other favourite at traditional

9. "Nine for the Nine Bright Shiners."
10. According to one version, this line is "From ten begin again-O". Another is "Ten for the Ten Commandments". However, there are lines for eleven and twelve.
11. "Eleven for the eleven that went to Heaven."
12. "Twelve for the Twelve Apostles."

The song clearly has a basis in religion, and those who think that the twelve numbers refer to Christianity can find much to support their belief. Nineteenth century chapel folk in Cornwall used, indeed, to sing the song as a hymn. "The Gospel Makers" seem clear enough; the "Eleven that went to Heaven" are the twelve apostles minus Judas; the "April Rainers" is supposed to be a corruption of the "archangels"; the two "Lilywhite Boys" are Christ and John the Baptist.

There are, however, other versions, including a very ancient Jewish one, antedating Christianity. And the title "The Dilly Song" comes from alternative versions for lines four and five, which run "Four is the Dilly Hour when blooms the Dilly Flower."
"Five is the Dilly Bird that's seldom seen but heard."

Savants tend towards the opinion that the song could well be a mnemonic one belonging to a primitive religion way back in the Stone Age. It is futile, they say, to try to interpret the allusions. So let's throw our heads back and enjoy shouting it out, as ever!

Money still oils wheels of Opec caravan

By John Hooper in Geneva

IT is not just water boards and television rental firms which have difficulty collecting their debts. Confidential documents prepared by Opec's Vienna-based secretariat show that, in this new era of low oil prices, getting money out of some of the members of the world's most powerful commodity cartel is like pulling a tooth.

According to the report, the Iraqis have ignored 28 reminders about their subscriptions for this year and the latter half of 1985. Libya has also been in arrears since the middle of last year, notching up a total of 24 tops on the shoulder.

None of which is a laughing matter for an organisation which, even before the start of what is already another lengthy meeting,

Blonde bombshell trained for war

By David Fairhall



Cruise crew: First-Lieutenant Dawn Hewitt and her station commander at Greenham, Colonel John Bachs, with a cruise missile launcher. — Pictures by Graham Turner.

DAWN HEWITT, aged 24, scarcely five feet tall with a blonde pigtail tucked under her hat, is one of the women of Greenham Common. She arrived with the American nuclear cruise missiles, but not to protest outside the barbed wire.

Her job as a launch-control officer in the USAF's 501st tactical missile wing is to train for something she hopes will never happen: the moment she gets orders to press the green button that would send her batch of 18 missiles on their way to the Soviet Union.

First-Lieutenant Hewitt volunteered after hearing about Nato's plan to deploy ground-launched cruise missiles in Britain while she was doing her degree in computer science, sponsored by the American air force. In the nuclear-launch business the Minuteman ballistic missile has more status than the humble cruise, but Dawn wanted to come to England. Her home town Boston, in Massachusetts, has strong English affiliations.

She said she had not spoken to those other women, a damp but stubborn remnant of whom still maintained their protest vigil outside the Berkshire base's main gate. A male colleague explained that they were under strict orders not to make any contact.

"I do my job," was the only explanation Dawn offered when asked how she coped with her awesome responsibility. She had no intention of publicly discussing her emotions, and wondered whether anyone would ever take her seriously again after all this attention from the press cameras.

Our visit was the first time since the cruise missiles arrived in November, 1983, that Greenham Common had opened its gates to let journalists and television cameras inside the perimeter fence but not the heavily-guarded inner fence, which surrounds the six missile shelters and warhead bunkers.

Asked what the armed guards would do if intruders tried to break into this inner citadel, the station commander, Colonel John Bachs, said they would be removed with minimum force and handed over to the police.

Colonel Bachs, who was born in Hungary, said that guards accompanying the cruise-missile convoys on training dispersals to Salisbury Plain were not issued with ammunition. Nor were missiles carried on such outings.

His concern about demonstrations such as the recent ambush, when a launch vehicle was temporarily halted and splashed with white paint, was that there might be a serious accident.

If an operational convoy was called out on a real alert, "that would be a different ball game," reference to the British Government's warning that protesters could be shot.

The route would be cleared and the 22-vehicle convoy protected by a 44-man force of which one third would be members of the RAF Regiment. Colonel Bachs said the presence of protesters outside the wire had if anything increased his men's determination to demonstrate their professional readiness. The station was now fully operational with 96 missiles.

The decision to open up Greenham Common was probably prompted by a public-relations assessment that secrecy was increasingly counterproductive, combined with the political judgment — shared by Mrs Thatcher and her Defence Secretary, Mr George Younger — that a positive pro-nuclear policy will win votes at the next general election provided arms control negotiations are seen to be producing positive results.

The tour included a demonstration of the eight-wheel-drive cruise-vehicle's remarkable cross-country performance and a look inside a launch-control centre. The two launch officers sit at identical consoles in air-conditioned comfort which would also protect them from nerve gas or nuclear fallout.

First Lieutenant Mark Carter explained how his radioed orders would come down from the American president through the USAF and Nato chains of command.

With the orders would come weapons-release codes, some of which must be simultaneously punched into the computer by both launch officers, and targeting data that he would use but not understand.

Finally, a simple message would flash up on the screen in front of him "Recommend execute." If he was satisfied the computer knew what it was doing, he would follow that recommendation by pressing the small green button on the left of the console.

Opec was taken to the cleaners by the Yugoslavs when it met last summer in the Adriatic metropolis of Brioni. Six days in Brioni cost the secretariat more than nine days in Geneva a month later.

But Opec still cannot quite break itself of habits born in its heyday. At the last conference Open officials gavo away £3,146 in "gratuities for hotel staff". They also threw a party for the press at which the centerpiece was a gigantic chocolate confection in the form of an oil derrick.

The records show that within the space of three hours the journalists, together with those analysts, tradurs and other hangers-on who succeeded in winning themselves a press pass, managed to eat Opec back £3,824. Then they ate the chocolate oil rig.

Goya: Mystery And Mastery

Continued from page 16

strous, subhuman invaders. The Spanish peasants, the *guerrillas*, who rose up to oppose them are just as clearly seen. Some are martyrs, some are heroes, some commit atrocities. All are human nonetheless.

A number of these etchings — they were not published while he lived — are on view at the National Gallery. More are at the Corcoran. Few pictures of our own age are more harrowing than these.

Goya, while a young man, while flattering and climbing, was quite willing to paint pretty things, sophisticated satires, the gold braid of a uniform, the glint of light on silk. But later in his life, imprisoned in his deafness, he turned to darker themes.

A violent, evil energy often, but not always, crackles in his late works. His most nightmarish pictures — the "Black Paintings", for example, which he painted with great fury directly on the walls of *Quinta del Sordo* (House of the Deaf Men), his isolated home outside Madrid — resist interpretation. Equally enigmatic are *Los Disparates* ("The Follies" or "Absurdities"), which he began engraving in 1818 and made until his flight to France in 1824.

These prints are his most private, fantastic and unnerving. In some ways they restate the themes of the *Caprichos*, but with vastly greater power. One of the "Caprichos," a savage yet amusing comment

on the Spanish laws against divorce, shows a man and wife tied with ropes to one another. In the comparable "Absurdities" their flesh itself has fused, and each of their four feet faces in two directions; they're like monstrous Siamese twins.

His pictures of the bullfight in both museum shows are far more repulsive. Perhaps the charging bull, the admirable, astonishing valor of the matador, and the primal power of the exercise were together strong enough to tear his mind away from his private thoughts.

He began the *La Tauromaquia* series in 1815, while still at work on the "Disasters." The first etching in the set shows the prehistoric hunt that, so he believed, was the origin of the sport. Among the later prints are pictures that declare the artist a fan. One, at the National Gallery, is titled "The daring of Martincho in the ring at Saragossa."

Daring is not the word for it. Martincho decided to kill the bull without any of the usual protections. Its thick neck was not weakened by picks and bandorillas, and Martincho did not delgn to use a cape (instead he waved his hat), and he did not dance. In fact, he set upon a chair in the middle of the ring with his feet bound by iron fetters. He tried the feat but once. That seems more than enough.

Another picture from the series, this one at the Corcoran, is called "Dreadful events in the first rows of the ring at Madrid and death for the Mayor of Torrejon." The bull has leaped into the audience. The artist who produced this print seems not at all alarmed.

Goya sought in life scenes that might compete with those that he imagined. One of the most moving drawings at the National Gallery was made in Bordeaux, during his final exile, in a lunatic asylum. It shows a *loco furioso*, a raging madman, with enormous hands and bulging eyes, confined behind bars. How bestial can a creature be, Goya asks us here — as he asks us often — and still remain a man?

Another drawing at the gallery will linger even longer in the viewer's memory. It, too, is from his last years. It shows an old, decrepit man, smiling with delight, swinging on a swing as if he were some overwrought young swain out of Fragonard or Watteau. Somewhere in all of Goya's art, despite its violence and its darkness — in the fervor of his brush, in his hunger for the seen — is an undertone of glee.

The National Gallery's exhibit will remain on view through January 4. The print show at the Corcoran, thoughtfully selected by Ed Nygren, who wrote its accompanying catalogue, will close January 25.

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Soccer results

SKIING's World Cup champion Marc Girardelli, became the second major casualty of the season when he dislocated his left shoulder in a fall in Yugoslavia. It was the second time he had dislocated the shoulder in three weeks and immediately went to Switzerland for an operation. He hopes to hobble by the end of January. Last week the American, Bill Johnson, was badly injured in a downhill training fall.

Letters to the Editor are welcomed but not all can be acknowledged. We don't like cutting them but sometimes this is necessary to get them in the page — short letters stand a better chance. Send them to The Guardian Weekly, PO Box 18, Cressle, Chesham SK8 1DD, England.

HUMAN RIGHTS FOR ALL CYPRIOTS

The words "Human Rights" have been used so frequently that it is often forgotten that they involve the fates, the daily lives and the happiness of ordinary men and women.

The restoration and protection of the human rights of all Cypriots is an essential prerequisite for a just, viable and lasting solution of the Cyprus problem.

We believe that Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots should enjoy the basic rights to return to their homes and to live wherever they wish throughout Cyprus. There should be no segregation according to religion or language or culture. Each and every Cypriot should have the right to own property anywhere and the right to move freely across the length and breadth of our small country.

The Turkish troops who occupy 37% of Cyprus prevent 200,000 displaced Greek Cypriots from returning to their homes, the few hundred Greek Cypriots still there are being squeezed out and the properties of the displaced Greek Cypriots have been distributed to Turks. On the contrary, the homes of Turkish Cypriots in the free part of the Republic of Cyprus are still officially considered to be their own properties, but the Turkish military occupation regime which forced or lured them away from their homes does not allow them to return there.

About 60,000 settlers from the Turkish mainland have been brought to Cyprus and have been granted "political rights" by the Turkish Cypriot "authorities". Thus, in the area of Cyprus under Turkish military control there is now one mainland Turk, civilian or soldier, for every Turkish Cypriot. The people of Cyprus have the right to reject the massive imposition of foreigners on their homeland.

Turkey is preventing the investigation into the fate of the 1619 Greek Cypriots who have been missing since the Turkish invasion in 1974. Their families have the right to know whether they are alive or dead. The prolonged uncertainty about the fate of their "disappeared" is nothing less than a subtle form of cruel torture.

We claim the human right of every Cypriot to live free of the fear of foreign invasion and the suppression of foreign occupation. There are over 35,000 Turkish troops in Cyprus and recently their numbers have been increased and the quality of their armoured forces improved. Concern at this development has been expressed even by Turkey's allies. All these occupation troops should be withdrawn. They have no place in an independent Cyprus and they prevent the restoration of the human rights of its citizens.

The violations of human rights as a result of the Turkish military occupation of part of Cyprus have been authoritatively verified by impartial international organs, including the commission for human rights of the Council of Europe. This intolerable situation must not be allowed to continue. We appeal to the international community and particularly to human rights organisations to take all steps necessary to put an end to the tragedy of Cyprus.

**The Committee for the Restoration of
Human Rights throughout Cyprus**